THE ANGLO-SAXON OCCUPATION OF SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND

BY

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Volume 1

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SUMMARY

The subject of this Thesis is, The Anglo-Saxon Occupation of South-east Scotland. It is divided into seven chapters, along with an Introduction and a chapter of Conclusions. The Introduction is used to state what is being studied, the methods used in the various problems of interpretation of the evidence and the need to examine the evidence in the context of where it was found or related to. It also refers to the need for a multi-disciplinary approach to the problems and to remember that developments and changes were in progress throughout the pre-Norman period.

The 1st chapter, "The Land of South-east Scotland", is divided into two sections: the first is concerned with the geology and soils of the area, with the evidence for climatic and vegetational change since the sub-Roman period. The second section is concerned with the topography, the shape of the land of South-east Scotland and communication within it. Though most of the evidence which is discussed in the chapter comes from other disciplines, like geology, soil studies and palaeobotany, some archaeological or place-name evidence is used as well. The chapter is necessary to try to understand the natural background to the early Medieval period and its remains.

The 2nd chapter is divided into five sections and is concerned with the written sources, the surviving documents

which contain information relevant to the Tweed-Forth area in early Medieval times. The first section is concerned with the British or early Welsh sources, the Historia Brittonum and the Gododdin poem. The second section is concerned with the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert, the Vita St Cuthberti, Auctorite Anonymo . The third section is concerned with the Life of St Wilfrid of York , the Vita Wilfridi of Eddius Stephanus. The fourth section is concerned with the Historia de S. Cuthberto section of the writings which are attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis or Simeon of Durham. The fifth section is concerned with some of the charters, of twelfth century or later date, and Scotto-Norman origin, which contain information on the Tweed-Forth area in the post-Northumbrian period.

The 3rd chapter is concerned with place-names and is divided into two sections: the first is that in which the place-names of Brittonic or early Welsh origin are discussed, the second is that in which those of Old English or Anglian origin are discussed. Reference is made to the distribution of examples within the Tweed-Forth area and within identifiable territorial arrangements which are recorded in some of the written sources. These are discussed in the previous chapter.

The fourth chapter is concerned with the pre-Anglian Britons and is divided into two sections: the first is that in which evidence for the Settlements and Economy is discussed, the second is that in which the evidence for Early Christianity in the Tweed-Forth area is discussed.

Though the first section goes into a certain amount of detail, which might be said to lie outwith the concerns of the Thesis, it is necessary to understand what was developing in the Tweed-Forth area by the mid-seventh century. The same is true of pre-Anglian Christianity and its remains which provide information on other aspects of the period. This chapter considers information from archaeological evidence with that from other disciplines.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the Anglian take-over of the Tweed-Forth area, discussing the recorded history, from both contemporary writings and later documents, with the archaeological evidence and information from the other disciplines. The period which is covered is from the sixth century until the eleventh, so as to discuss the evidence for the initial Anglian presence in the Tweed-Forth area and later developments like the re-establishment of Northumbrian power in the tenth century.

The sixth chapter is concerned with the settlement and economy during the Anglian occupation. This is in spite of the lack of archaeological evidence. Much use is made of the documentary evidence, the landscape and recorded later territorial arrangements and parishes. This is mainly in the form of a comprehensive survey of the evidence for the various topographically distinct parts of the Tweed-Forth area and the relevant sites.

The seventh chapter is concerned with the evidence for Christianity in the area during the Anglian occupation and

is divided into three sections. The first is where evidence concerning possible continuity between British and Anglian Christianity and Celtic elements in the Christianity which developed by the eleventh century, is discussed. The second section is where evidence concerning the five religious establishments or monasteries which the Anglians set up in the Tweed-Forth area is discussed. The third section is where evidence in the form of Anglian Northumbrian crosses and concerning Christian sites of Anglian origin is discussed.

The chapter of Conclusions, the eighth chapter, is where the principal conclusions which have been drawn in the course of the text are referred to and discussed again. The important aspect of the study is the use of evidence from one field of study to provide information concerning others, which means frequent cross-referencing, in the text. Thus, a concluding chapter is necessary to draw the lines of argument together and re-state the principal references and conjectures. These include an apparent correlation between the large long-cist cemeteries and recorded parish boundaries, neglected examples of pre-Norman churches and consistent patterns of relationships between recorded parishes and recorded early Medieval landholdings. It is also where the need for further work on related aspects of early Medieval North Britain is emphasised.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This Thesis is divided into two volumes, 1 and 2. Volume 1 consists of the Text, with relevant illustrations of maps and plans. Volume 2 consists of illustrations, divided into three sections. Section 1 has maps of parts of South-East Scotland, the Tweed-Forth area, Section 2 has photographs of Important Small Finds of North-umbrian origin and Section 3 has photographs of Crosses and Burial Markers of Northumbrian and Pre-Norman type.

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Abbreviations used in the Text and Bibliography (pp 481-97)

Arch Ael — Archaeologia Aeliana

Arch Camb — Archaeologia Cambrensis

Bull Bd Celtic Studies — Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies

Bull Counc Br Archaeol Churches Comm — Bulletin of the Council for British Archaeology Churches Committee

CBA — Council for British Archaeology

CUCAP — Cambridge University Catalogue of Aerial Photographs

DES — Discovery and Excavation in Scotland

Eng Hist Rev — English Historical Review

Eng Place-Name Soc Journ — English Place-Names Society Journal

HE — See Bede HE, in BIBLIOGRAPHY 1) PRIMARY SOURCES

Hist Bwk Nat Club — History of the Berwickshire Naturalist Club

Lawrie — Lawrie L R Early Scottish Charters, 1905 Glasgow

Med Arch — Medieval Archaeology

NSA — New Statistical Account, 1845, Edinburgh

OPS — See Origines Parochiales Scotiae in BIBLIOGRAPHY 1) PRIMARY SOURCES

OS — Ordnance Survey

OSNB — See Ordnance Survey Name Book in BIBLIOGRAPHY 1) PRIMARY SOURCES

Proc Soc Antiq Scot — Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

RCAHMS — Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland, Edinburgh

Scot Arch Forum — Scottish Archaeological Forum

Scot Arch Rev — Scottish Archaeological Review

SDD — Scottish Development Department

Trans Dumf and Gall Nat Hist Soc	Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History Society
Welsh Hist Rev	Welsh Historical Review
Yorks Arch Journ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

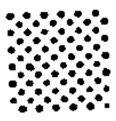
Key to Symbols as used in Illustrations, in Volumes 1 and 2 (unless otherwise stated)

---- Road of Medieval or earlier origin

..... Parish boundary, excluding recorded post-Medieval developments

----- Property boundary (Millman 1969-71)

xxxx Linear earthwork

 Open water or marshland (now drained)

F Ford

L Landing-place

■ Settlements of "Brito-Roman" type or yielding objects Of Roman Origin

◆ Prehistoric enclosures of exceptional size, "oppida"

◇ Defended settlements possibly occupied in Early Medieval times

C "Chester"-element place-name

△ Long-cist cemetery (possible)

▲ Long-cist cemetery of less than 20 burials

▲ Long-cist cemetery of 20 or more burials

○ Burial-ground or church or chapel of pre-Norman origin

† Chapel of minster church by the 12th century

± Cross or grave-marker of pre-Norman type, excluding "hog-backs"

+ Lost cross or grave-marker of pre-Norman type, excluding "hog-backs"

M Mill of pre-12th century date

▼ Vill or settlement mentioned as being part of a multiple-estate

INTRODUCTION

The title of this study is the Anglo-Saxon occupation of South-east Scotland. This includes an archaeological examination and discussion of the remains left by the Northumbrian Angles in that part of North Britain which lies between the River Tweed and the River Forth. This Tweed-Forth area consists of the Lothians with Stirlingshire as far as the Forth and the Gargunnock Water and the Border counties, less Dumfriesshire and the Liddle basin. The period of this occupation is approximately from the early seventh century until the Scottish victory at Carham-on-Tweed in 1018, which meant the end of Northumbrian control north of the Tweed.

Though this study is primarily concerned with the remains of the Northumbrian Anglian occupation, it would be unrealistic and far from worthwhile to restrict the scope of study to the seventh century and after. This is because the area, as part of Britain, was already inhabited, that is to say, by Britons or people of a Celtic culture who spoke the P-Celtic or Brittonic tongue. In the absence of evidence for widespread dislocation of settlement or a definite cultural change being initiated by the Anglian settlers or rulers, some continuity of settlements and culture must be assumed. There was an independent British kingdom, known as Strathclyde, to the west, which might have had some influence during the period. The Pictish and later Scotto-Pictish kingdoms

which lay to the north are not to be ignored either, primarily since the latter came to control the Tweed-Forth area by 1018.

This emphasises the need to study the Northumbrian Anglian occupation in the context of early Medieval North Britain. There is also the obvious need to refer to work and parallel studies of other parts of Anglo-Saxon England and especially Northumbria. The inclusion of the Saxons is because of the evidence that the Tweed-Forth area was subject to the activities and influence of the Wessex-dominated England in the tenth century. In the absence of rigid barriers to cultural influence, trade or migration, there is a need to make use of studies of other Celtic parts of Britain, like early Medieval Wales or Cumbria. It would be wrong to attempt a study of the Tweed-Forth area in isolation from its context, as much as attempting to study a site in isolation from the land around it.

Since the Tweed-Forth area was part of Anglian Northumbria, a part of England which the English failed to recover, use could be made of the highly-developed studies of aspects of Northumbria's history. This is partly because of the survival of the documents of the Church at Lindisfarne, which were copied and preserved and can have direct reference to the area. It is also because of the relative wealth of historical works like Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, Saints' Lives, which

refer to the Tweed-Forth area and Northumbria in pre-Viking times. These documents and the studies of them allow a fairly reliable framework to be constructed for the history of the Angles in the Tweed-Forth area and for some of the important aspects of this occupation.

This can lead to a tendency to fit archaeological evidence and the information it gives into this framework, which might be satisfactory for an essentially historical study. However, it is not satisfactory for an archaeological study since the cultural or artefactual developments did not always correspond with the recorded historical or political changes. Documentary survival can often be as prone to chance as that of artefacts or structures and the documents do not include all the details which are necessary. The clear need to consider the information given by all the classes of evidence is not helped by the fact that the study of the artefactual and structural remains of the Northumbrian Angles is not as well-developed as the study of their documentary remains.

There is a definite lack of excavated sites of early Medieval date or with definite occupation by Anglian Northumbrians, in the Tweed-Forth area. Due to lack of funds, either from grants or otherwise, no excavations could be undertaken during this study. The evidence for the Anglo-Saxon occupation of south-east Scotland does exist; it remains to be properly identified and

studied, as is illustrated by Cramp's excavations at the Hirsel in Berwickshire. This is not to claim that there is no evidence for the Northumbrian presence or for the pre-Anglian British natives, or that there has been no earlier work on the early Medieval period in the Tweed-Forth area. One of the aims of this study will be to bring together all the relevant evidence and that which might have been overlooked because it was not generally available for study at some time. This evidence might be best examined, both in its topographic and its historical context and in relation to remains of slightly earlier or later date. The ideal approach would not only be multi-disciplinary but also aiming for 'total archaeology and studying the Anglo-Saxon or early Medieval remains as part of the general development of a part of the Tweed-Forth area since Prehistoric times.

These particular approaches raise the question of apparent or discernible patterns of development or relationships which might have been noticed in studies of the remains of Prehistoric or later Medieval date. The practice of working back or working forward is dependent on proof that these patterns or models developed or were developing during the time of the Anglo-Saxon occupation. They are also dependent on thorough studies of the earlier or later evidence. There is a considerable amount of documentation of twelfth century or later date, of Scotto-Norman origin, which gives much information

on landholdings, churches and important places, as well as most of the earliest spellings of relevant place-names. These were written at least a century after 1018, after the decline of Northumbria and after the Scotto-Pictish takeover. There is thus a 'gap' period, roughly from the mid-ninth until the early twelfth, for which there is very little direct or contemporary evidence in the documentary sources. This brings the reliability of information which is drawn from working back , into some doubt. Any possibly relevant information which comes from this quarter, such as place-name spellings or territorial arrangements is, to use an archaeological analogy, unstratified and should be dealt with accordingly.

Any assessment of patterns of settlement, land-holdings or power can be related to Christian remains, especially recorded relationships between churches or chapels. There is the apparent relationship between territorial arrangements and religious ones: the central church and its dependencies reflects the economic or lordly centre, the later parish and its boundaries reflects these territorial arrangements and there might be one major gathering-place, burial-ground or religious site for one major settlement grouping. All this remains to be proven or dated in the Tweed-Forth area, especially if elements of this can be discerned in the remains of the twelfth century or later. Studies of

Medieval nucleated settlements in Northern England have led to proposals that, far from being of Anglian or earlier origin, they dated to "between the closing years of the eleventh century and the opening of the thirteenth century" (Roberts B K 1978.313). There has been no parallel study of settlements in the Tweed-Forth area, though this was part of Anglian Northumbria as well and was similarly subject to Norman influence. The point is that these changes come after the Anglian occupation had ceased and though they might have been the immediate result of Anglo-Norman influence, they could equally have been the results of developments which began during the time of Northumbria. Studying the period and its remains on the basis of the later documents or surviving traces in the landscape can lead to a telescoping of processes or developments which might have taken place over a long period. This is why a multi-disciplinary approach is necessary, to examine information from various fields since human activity does not express itself completely in one type of artefact. Archaeological excavation, place-names or documents have their limitations in the information they can yield, especially if evidence has perished or been lost.

Since it would be expecting too much of what has survived, that it should provide the basis for the study and yield all the necessary information, use might be made of environmental or topographic evidence to understand

the land in which the people lived. Climatic change and the topography would have affected the lives and activities of the inhabitants, their economy, and economic arrangements, the siting of settlements and the boundaries or dependent lands. It might also aid the understanding of "continuity", whether it might have been of a site or settlement of the same function or importance, or within a certain grouping of settlements and their lands. Though the evidence for the Anglian occupation of the Tweed-Forth area does exist and needs to be identified and interpreted, there is a similar need to understand the natural, material and cultural environment which gave rise to these remains. Excavation cannot be expected to uncover full details of everything of consequence that happened on a site; it might locate only part of the relevant remains. Others might have perished or been destroyed and a scatter of objects of one period by themselves do not always imply use or occupation contemporary to that period.

The term "continuity" is used a great deal in discussions of the early Medieval and post-Roman periods and their remains, usually for the relationships or developments between the Roman period and the time after it. For the Tweed-Forth area, it refers to certain places or sites and vicinities and whatever aspects might have changed or survived, between the pre-Anglian British and the Anglian Northumbrian periods and between the latter and the Scotto-Norman period. A settlement-

site might yield artefacts of several periods which might imply continuous occupation, though this might have been seasonal or sporadic and the roles of the place and its inhabitants might have changed, along with their numbers. The dating of the periods of occupation rarely allows for such precise assessments and the importance of a site is only really noticeable if it is exceptional. The site might have a large internal area or important structures or artefacts may have been discovered within it. The topographical position of a site can provide clues as to its possible role or importance. In the early Medieval period there are also mentions in written sources which refer to the role or importance of a site. It might also be possible to look at a site or number of sites within a parish, recorded landholding or topographical position and see the evidence for different periods or sites against that background, in order to try to assess continuity .

Though the evidence only provides a basis for speculation or conjecture, it is important to consider what kind of continuity might have existed and who was responsible for it. The early Medieval period saw such important changes, as the Tweed-Forth area becoming part of Anglian Northumbria and then Scotto-Pictish Scotland. It could be suggested that these changes did not really affect the activities, traditions and arrangements of the mostly British natives. Long-term climatic changes

or migration on a large scale would have affected them more than changes in the chiefs, their over-lords and their culture. There needs to be evidence of wide-spread disruption before continuity of territorial or economic groupings might be questioned. New settlement or expansion of cultivated land might be within limits of some antiquity; as might a shift in the location of a burial-ground for several settlements,

a

shift in settlement sites or a change in the location of the chief's residence. If continuity is to be discussed, specific details need to be given as to what kind of continuity is meant.

A multi-disciplinary approach should ideally lead to a synthesis of information concerning a site or its vicinity, along with criticisms or support of the conclusions which were reached in individual disciplines. The different disciplines should provide different routes of approach to problems, especially if it is not possible to take an archaeological approach very far. The opinions of authorities in one of the disciplines can even provide a novel or fresh viewpoint on a particular subject. As well as historical geography and place-name studies, studies of past climate and vegetation are relevant. In the absence of the necessary excavation of various sites, the studies of the historical geography of parts of the Tweed-Forth area and studies of

this area in the late or post-Roman period, the information which might be gleaned from other disciplines is most necessary. Though the author might not be able to make any reconstructions, some conclusions could be drawn and the various possibilities or conjectures could be stated and discussed. There is the further possibility that, though it might not be possible to understand the Anglian Northumbrians, it might be possible to examine the remains of their arrangements as they seem to have developed and the landscapes or environments which gave rise to these. The important, indeed essential, element for such an approach is dating and the evidence for this, which has been properly studied. Without this, any attempted assessment of developments is badly flawed, especially if one is "working forward" or "working back". Parallel studies are most useful, though they can only really be used if proof of similarities to the other area could be shown. It could be concluded that Anglian settlement, at least in Northern England, appeared to have much in common with the preceding Romano-British (Roberts 1978.71). Evidence to prove such in the Tweed-Forth area remains to be identified and studied.

THE LAND OF SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND, ENVIRONMENT AND TOPOGRAPHY

1) Environment

The term 'environment', for the purpose of this study, means soils and vegetation. This can also refer to the basic geology of the Tweed-Forth area and the climate, since these have affected the environment. The natural environment is more than simply the background against which to set economic and social developments of the early Medieval period. It would have influenced these developments, since the economy was almost completely agrarian and settlement associated with cultivation and pasture would have been related to the underlying soil. It is also obvious that the landscape and environment of the early Medieval period would have differed from that of the present, mainly due to the larger population and the changes consequent on the Enclosures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus it would be unrealistic to assess land capabilities for crop-production in the Tweed-Forth area, in the early Medieval period, on the basis of modern farms or parts of the area which have been improved.

There is also the matter of climatic change since the early Medieval period, which has been the subject of much work in recent years, in Europe as well as in Britain. This is only of general application to North

Britain in the early Medieval period since there has been only a limited amount of specific work on the area, which is mainly due to the lack of evidence which can be used. For the later Medieval period, documentary references to crop-yields and the weather can be used to supplement and more closely date conclusions reached through studies of pollen-samples and general climatic trends. Parry's important study of settlement-shift and varying cultivation-limits in the Lammermuirs is unfortunately confined to the twelfth century and later (1978.76-9, 81-3, 92, 100-2, 112-122). Lamb's study of The Climate from 1000 BC to 1000 AD (1981.53-66) has provided a basic assessment of the climate from the Roman until the early Medieval period. According to this authority, after a "climatic optimum" of around 400 AD, when the climate was warmer and drier than at present, there was a gradual, general deterioration which reached a "low" around 650 to 700 AD, after which there was a general improvement which led to another "climatic optimum" in around 1200 AD. Lamb has also concluded that the eighth century appears to have been a time of drier summers and colder winters and there could have been droughts in the tenth century (1981.60).

This does provide a useful background to the early Medieval period in the Tweed-Forth area though it does not really add information that is especially relevant

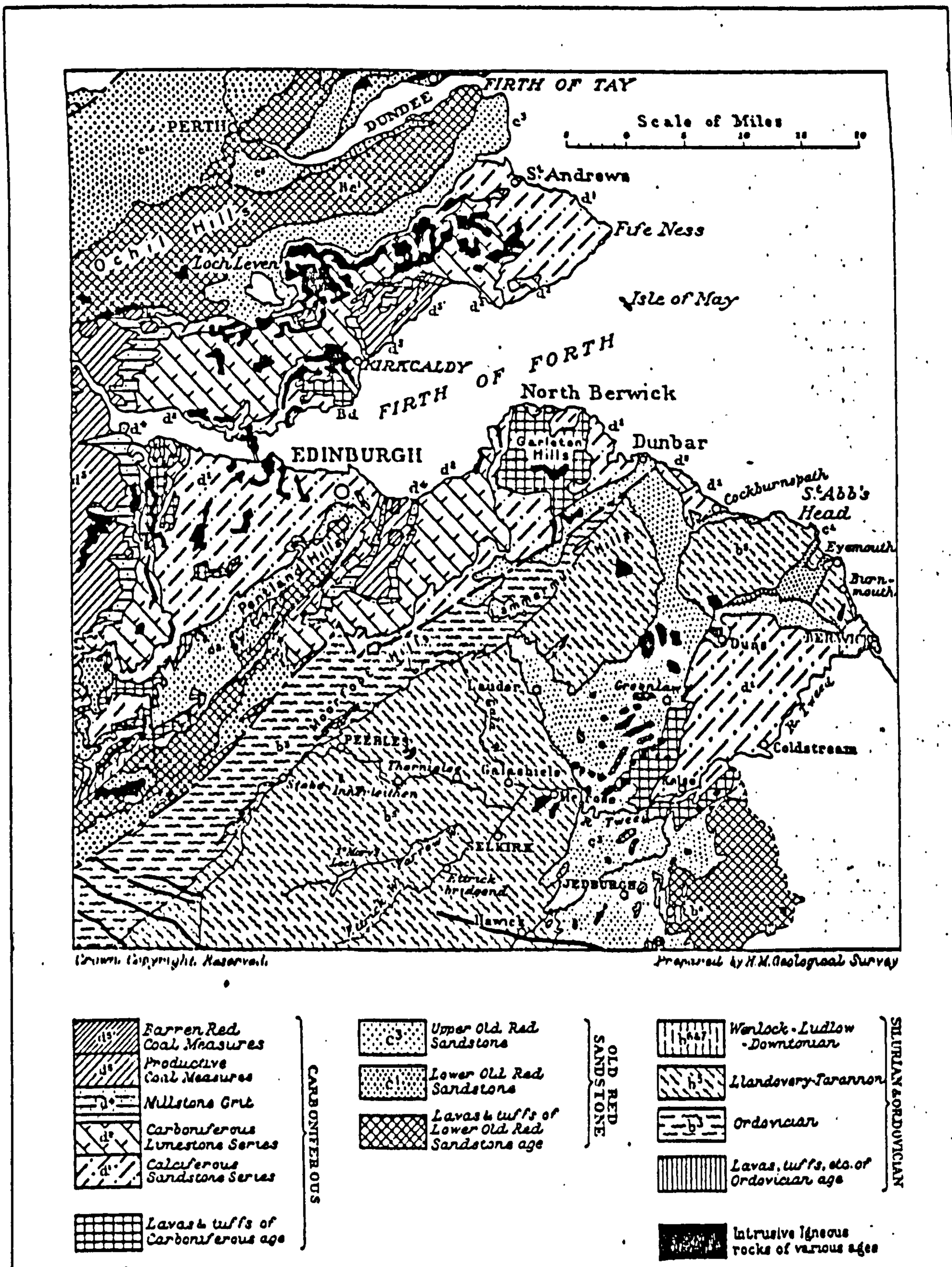
to this study. In the absence of specific evidence or study thereof, any attempt to reconstruct the climate of the Tweed-Forth area in the early Medieval period is not possible. The comparison of a recorded period which might have been similar to an unrecorded one is not really feasible or practical since other factors like social or economic arrangements would have differed. If the population was smaller than it might have been in later Medieval times, there might have been less pressure on land. This would have made easier any shift of settlement or cultivation, as a result of climatic deterioration. The problem is in proving abandonment of settlements and cultivation and dating it, in the absence of datable artefacts and settlement-remains which clearly show abandonment, reduction in size or destruction. Climatic change is only one factor which would have affected the economy of the Tweed-Forth area in early Medieval times; the warfare of the period, inheritance and consequent re-organisation possibly within a land-holding unit, would have been other significant factors. Fleming has recently pointed out that 'marginal' land might have been most important in Prehistoric and early Medieval times, for pastoral farming or grazing (1983.172-3). In short, the lack of evidence for the climate in the early Medieval period compounds the lack of evidence and study of native settlement and economy in the Tweed-Forth area, so it is difficult to relate the two.

Though there is some evidence for the social and economic arrangements of the early Medieval period, the multiple-estate system, the role of the upland parts in relation to the lowland parts is not known. Evidence for trans-humance, seasonal grazing and the shieling system in the early Medieval period has not yet been identified. Expansion of cultivation as a result of the "climatic optimum" in around 1200 AD and early modern cultivation of marginal areas, during the Napoleonic War, could have easily removed evidence for early Medieval activity in these vicinities.

It would be unrealistic to expect evidence for the environment of the Tweed-Forth area in the early Medieval period to be specifically detailed and informative to allow a detailed reconstruction of the climate. There is some evidence for the vegetation and land-use before Enclosure, in the form of maps, pollen studies and place-names. Since the basic geology of the Tweed-Forth area has not changed since the early Medieval period, it can provide important indications of soil-type or fertility. There is also the 1982 study of Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture, by the Macaulay Institute for Soil Research (Brown and Shipley. 1982), though this is specifically concerned with soil-use at present and not with the actual soil geology. In some studies of Anglo-Saxon settlement-patterns, a correspondence has been noted with soils based on gravel

Figure 1.1

South-East Scotland, solid geology



or sand, rather than clay, implying a preference for the former type. The maps of soils and geology for the Tweed-Forth area, which are available (Fig 1.1, 1.2) tend not to differentiate between clay or gravel-derived soils. Other factors, like the nature of the Anglian takeover and space for their settlement, are more likely factors influencing choices of site and fields, at least initially. As it is, what the evidence available does allow for is for a systematic survey of the Tweed-Forth area, discussing the evidence for the vegetation and land-capability which might have existed in the Tweed-Forth area in early Medieval times.

The Carse clays of the Forth are renowned for their fertility, though there is no evidence that cultivation after reclamation began in the early Medieval period. The probability is that the only cultivable land was on the slopes of the Kilsyth and Gargunnock Hills, and around Stirling, or on the glacial gravel hillocks where the settlements of Airth and Dunmore grew up. Pollen studies from samples from Flanders Moss, which lies twenty kilometres to the west, appear to show a growth of deciduous woodland around 200 AD (Turner.1965). The only recorded significant area of woodland in the vicinity of Stirling, by the twelfth century, was Tor Wood, though its extent and growth or decline before then is not known.

The valley of the River Carron is recorded in the 1982 Soil Survey as having tidal as well as river-

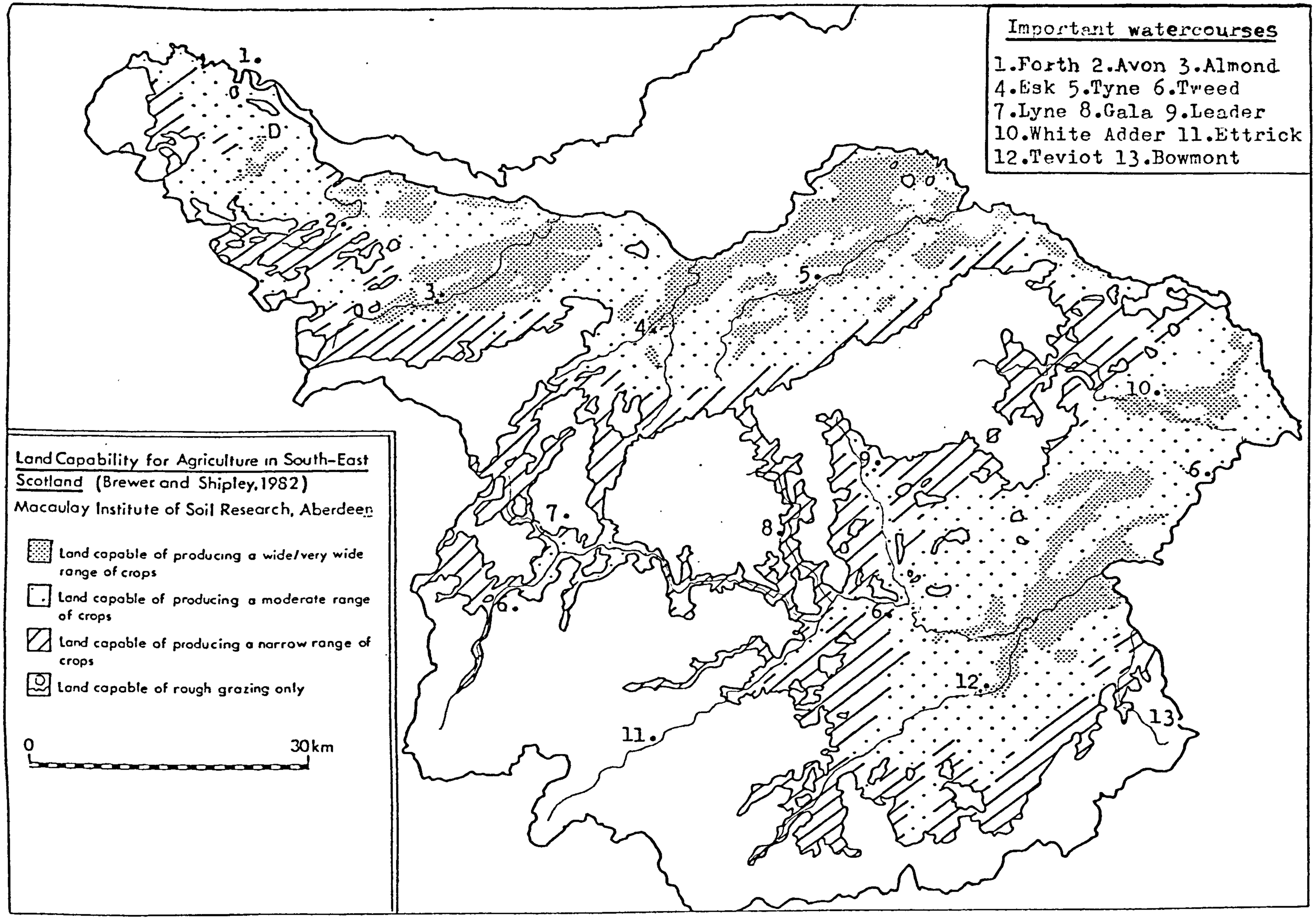

Important watercourses
1.Forth 2.Avon 3.Almond
4.Esk 5.Tyne 6.Tweed
7.Lyne 8.Gala 9.Leader
10.White Adder 11.Ettrick
12.Teviot 13.Bowmont
Land Capability for Agriculture in South-East Scotland (Brewer and Shipley, 1982)
Macaulay Institute of Soil Research, Aberdeen
Land capable of producing a wide/very wide range of crops
Land capable of producing a moderate range of crops
Land capable of producing a narrow range of crops
Land capable of rough grazing only
0
30km

Figure 1.2

deposits of alluvium, though there is, as before, no record of use of it during the early Medieval period. As with the aforementioned slopes of the Kilsyth and Gargunnock Hills, which were of volcanic origin, cultivation was only really possible on the lower slopes of the uplands represented by the Upper Carboniferous shales and grits of Callander Wood. These ran as far south as the Pentland Hills and are marked on the Soil Survey as an area of poorly drained gleys and peats. This vicinity which might have been more wooded in early Medieval times, had cultivable and naturally-drained soils around the Avon and upper Almond, as shown by the possibly early Medieval or earlier settlement at Slamannan, on the former, and around the Calders on the latter. It is no coincidence that Falkirk and the later Medieval lordship of Callander lay beside the Carron and its tributary, the Bonny Water, where cultivable soil and routes of communication coincide.

The best soils in the Lothians tend to lie in the river-valleys of the Avon, Almond, Esk and Tyne (Fig 1.2). This is supported by the 1982 Soil Survey which notes that the "Darvel Association" of well-drained and fertile soils, deriving from Carboniferous sediments and river-alluvium is well represented in the four river-valleys (Brown and Shipley.1982.57-8). This supports other evidence for settlement in early Medieval times being

mostly related to these river-valleys, namely long-cist distribution (pp 220-221). This also complements other evidence for the areas of open pasture, moor and rough grazing lying on the watersheds between these rivers; Drumshoreland Moor which is marked on Roy's maps of 1745, as lying between the Bathgate Hills and the Almond Valley; Gladsmuir which is also marked on Roy's map, as lying between the Tyne and Esk valleys. Cultivation was possible on most of these upland parts, except for the Pentlands, parts of the Bathgate Hills, around Humbie, Pencaitland and parts of the upper Tyne basin and the Garleton Hills. The 1982 Soil Survey has also noted good, cultivable soils in these upland parts, though this was dependent on drainage and altitude. Later expansion of cultivation has also enlarged patches of soil which would have been cultivable in the early Medieval period. Patches of open water and marshland are recorded in the vicinity of Bathgate, (Fig I.17), around Edinburgh (Fig I.14) and near Gladsmuir in East Lothian. There is no evidence for their extent during the early Medieval period, nor for the possible extent of the wooded area in the Lothians during the same period. Newey's pollen studies of samples from Kitchen Moss in the Pentlands, Eddleston Moss on the lower slopes of the Moorfoots and from Gogar Loch west of Edinburgh, all show that the vicinities of these sample-sites were mostly open grassland with some woodland and scrub (Newey.1965.65-6). As with the

samples from Flanders Moss, which are mentioned above (p 16), there is possible evidence for regeneration of woodland around 200 AD (Newey.1965). The only possible evidence for areas of woodland in the area during this period is in the form of place-names, such as those containing the element 'coet' for a wood (Watson.1926.381-2). The examples of this, Dalkeith, Pencaitland and Keith all lie on the watershed between the Esk and Tyne rivers while Bathgate and Cathlaw lie on the watershed between the Almond and the Avon, and could represent significant patches of woodland in the uncultivated pasture. They are not datable to this period, however, and could refer to woodland which had been considerably reduced by the early Medieval period, or removed. As with the element 'thwaite', for a clearing, in the place-name Moorfoot, by the source of the South Esk (Dixon.1947.296) and 'calder' for wood-land by a watercourse, in the Calder parishes on the Almond (Ibid.242), these show woodland of some date but give no other details.

The fact that woodland is mentioned in a place-name is interesting, since these few examples which have been identified in the Tweed-Forth area can hardly represent all the woodland in the area. Hanson and MacInnes have concluded that the Romans were probably able to build their forts from local wood (1980.98-113).

This raises the possibility that, in an organised

landscape" such as might have existed in the Tweed-Forth area in early Medieval times, there were specific pieces of woodland which were maintained for local use by associated settlements though evidence for this is lacking. This might explain the lack of place-name references to woodland of any type in what is now East Lothian, though this part of the Tweed-Forth area has yet to receive thorough study of place-names. The possibility is that these 'coet'-element place-names referred to large patches of woodland, which would have left no great density of settlement-remains in the land around the head of the Tyne. Indeed, Maxwell has suggested that the outer enclosure of a first century Roman marching-camp at Ford, on the Tyne, was for storing timber for use by the military (1983.177). This is possible proof of substantial stretches of woodland surviving in Roman times.

The naturally well-drained soils on the coastal part of the Lothians would have been well settled for a long time prior to the Post-Roman period, as is also implied by the long-cist distribution (p 220). Coastal deposits of shelly sand can account for the fertility of the land around the mouth of the Tyne, from Dunbar to the Peffer Burn. Similarly, glaciation had covered the otherwise infertile volcanic rock around Edinburgh, the Garleton Hills and parts of West Lothian. This could have led to what Macinnes has interpreted as a lack of any significant difference between the economies

of the settlements in the upland parts of East Lothian compared to those of the settlements in the lowland parts, in the pre-Roman period (1983.180). There is no evidence for cultivation of the northern face of the Lammermuirs or Moorfoots in the early Medieval period, nor settlement in the vicinity of the defended settlements which lie near or above 750 feet or around 230 metres above sea level. This is at odds with the later Medieval "rigs" which are present above this height, with the "climatic optimum" of around 400 AD, and with the evidence for cultivation and settlement above this height on the lower slopes of the Cheviot massif. The 1982 Soil Survey notes the presence of well-drained and cultivable soils on the northern slopes of the Lammermuirs, in the Ettrick series (Brown and Shipley.1982. 63-74). Other factors, which are not easily traced, could have led to this apparent withdrawal of settlement and cultivation. What MacInnes' thesis does show is the extent of settlement and cultivation up to the Roman period and the reasons for the lack of evidence for significant stretches of woodland between the Pease Burn gorge and the upper Tyne basin.

The parts of the Tweed-Forth area which separate the basin of the Forth from that of the Tweed", the Pentland Hills, Auchencorth Moss, the Moorfoots and Lammermuir Hills, are formed from Old Red Sandstone lavas, upper Carboniferous sediments and Silurian and Ordovician sediments (Fig 1.1). Along with Coldingham

Moor, which is also formed of Ordovician and Silurian sediments, these upland parts are only really cultivable on the fringes or lower slopes and in the river-valleys which cut them. The Lyne, Eddleston and Gala Waters, the Meldon Burn, the Leader and White Adder watercourses all have evidence of settlement and cultivation of pre-Roman date in their vicinities.(Figs 1.12, 4.1) This complements Newey's study of the pollen-samples from Eddleston Moss, which showed that there was more grass and open land in the vicinity than woodland, by the Roman period (1965). The 1982 Soil Survey notes that the parts of the Ettrick series of soils, which accounts for most of the soils of this upland part, are poorly drained in the upper slopes west of the Leader (Brown and Shipley.1982. 68). This would fit with another group of place-names containing the element coet for woodland, at Inchkeith, Caitha and Cathpair, which lie on the upland between the Leader and Gala valleys (Dixon.1947.282, 292). The Lauder series of soils, derived from Old Red Sand-stones, is not only responsible for the routes of the Leader, White Adder and Eye watercourses, but also for the fertility of these vicinities (Brown and Shipley. 1982.101-3). The presence of pre-Roman settlement-remains in all these valleys shows that human activity and cultivation would have probably left few significant stretches of woodland, though there is no pollen or place-name evidence to support this assumption. Ten of the twelve vills mentioned in the 1095 charter of

Edgar, concerning Coldingham (p 81), lie in the fertile lands around the Eye, and the concentration of non-defensive stone-walled settlements is on the strip of fertile soils on the north-east flank of Coldingham Moor (Fig I.8). The same charter refers to "Swinewood" which lies in the upper Eye valley, by Houndwood and Greenwood, which imply surviving woodland there, at least in later Medieval times.

The environment of the upper Tweed basin, like that of its tributaries, the Teviot, the Ettrick, Manor, Quair and Yarrow Waters, is essentially that of the Southern Upland hills, of Ordovician and Silurian sediments (Fig 1.1). With the exception of the Old Red Sandstone deposits between the Cheviot Hills and the moors near Hawick and Melrose, all the cultivable soils lay in the river-valleys and were mostly of the Ettrick series and capable of good yields (Brown and Shipley.1982.63-4). In the Yarrow, upper Ettrick and upper parts of the Tweed valley, above Stobo, the soils were far stonier and more suitable for pasture, as Brown and Shipley have pointed out (1982.128-9). It is also in the Ettrick and Yarrow valleys that the later Medieval "Ettrick Forest"(p25) was situated and was the basis for Selkirkshire. The place-names, Carlanrig on the Teviot and Darnick near Melrose, which literally mean "enclosed settlement in a clearing" (Watson.1926.239) and "concealed settlement" (Williamson.1943.43), respectively, would appear to support the assumption

that there were significant stretches of woodland in the upper valleys of the Tweed basin. The term "forest" did not necessarily mean large stretches of woodland, so that the "Jed Forest", which lay between the Jed and Rule Waters and around the upper reaches of the Jed Water itself, could have included open land.

Study of pollen-samples from beneath the ramparts of the defended settlement on Bonchester Hill, by the Rule Water, by Dimbleby, implied that the vicinity was possibly cleared of woodland by the time of the pre-Roman Iron Age (1965). Smith's excavation and associated pollen-studies of the Dod settlement and its vicinity, on the Allen Water, near Hawick, also show some clearance of the land by the later Prehistoric period and the growing of cereals (1982). He has allowed for the possibility of some controlled expansion of woodland there, which might explain the presence of arboreal pollen in other pollen-samples from studies in the Cheviot slopes (Clack.1982.389, Fig 5). Though these come from outside the Tweed-Forth area, and refer to the Roman period, they appear to support the other pollen-studies referred to, in their possible picture of the area being mostly cleared land with some patches of wood, before the early Medieval period.

The 1982 Soil Survey shows the best soils as lying around the junction of the Jed Water with the Teviot and where the Ale and Rule Waters flow (Fig 1.2). In fact,

there are significant patches of fertile and well-drained soils beside most of the Teviot, as far upstream as Hawick or Carlanrig and the Borthwick Water. The same Soil Survey also notes that the Carter soil series, which lie on the lower slopes of the Cheviots and the other hills which mark the watershed between the Teviot and Rede basins, has isolated patches of cultivable and well-drained soils (Brown and Shipley.1982.46-8). What is especially important is the Sourhope series of soils which resemble those in the Bowmont and Kale valleys (Ibid.117-9). Brown and Shipley note that these are good, fertile soils when they are well-drained, and the steep sides of the valleys provide this. The fact that these sides were terraced into patches of more easily cultivated ground shows the worth of the soils to the natives. This is further attested by the density of settlement remains in the Kale-Bowmont valleys, which implies fairly continuous use of this part from the late Bronze Age on. In Barber's unpublished 1982 survey of linear earth-works in the Tweed and Teviot basins, the point was made that the smaller cross-ridge dykes which proliferate in the Bowmont-Kale valleys, like others, mostly lie on patches of thin but cultivable soil. These could have been used for short seasons but probably became infertile peat and podsol soils by over-use or the climatic deterioration after 400 AD.

The gently-rolling land which lies around the junction of the Tweed and the Teviot and the lower Tweed basin is

deceptive and is mostly the product of post-Enclosure improvement. The land between the Tweed and Teviot, between Roxburgh and Ancrum, is depicted as open moorland on Roy's maps of 1745, as is most of the Merse, between the Lammermuirs and the Tweed. While it is accepted that Roy's maps are later than early Medieval, and are not good on the detail of the Merse, they do show the extent of improvements. The soils of the land between the Tweed and Teviot, like those of the western Merse and between Kelso and the Cheviots, are on volcanic rocks of Carboniferous age, which could have been easily exhausted. This would explain the lack of crop-mark sites from aerial photography in these vicinities, and place-names implying settlement there in early Medieval times. In the Merse itself, there was a problem common to the other parts as well - poor natural drainage.

The Eden and Leet watercourses take very sinuous courses due to the south-west to north-east alignment of the drumlin-based topography (Fig I.3). The larger stretches of marsh, like the Billie Mire, which formed part of the boundaries of the lands of Coldingham, and open water, like Howden Loch near Upsettlington and Lithillum Loch near the Hirsel, are now drained. The cultivable land would have lain on the flanks of the upland parts around Hume and Stichill or Smailholm and the lower Leader valley and on the top of the drumlins themselves. The place-names of Ledgerwood and Huntly-

wood lie among the still extensive tracts of moorland by the southern flanks of the Lammermuirs. This would seem to support the other place-names which imply surviving woodland in the Tweed-Forth area, in placing it in the sparsely-inhabited parts, the moorland which lay away from the river-valleys.

Much of the evidence which has been considered in the section is not strictly relevant, since it refers to periods before or after the early Medieval period. The fact that most of these pollen-samples came from marshland or former marshland could mean that they refer only to the land around these stretches and not to the wider vicinities. There are no comprehensive pollen studies of large parts of the Tweed-Forth area, though the discoveries of querns in settlements could imply that there was some cereal cultivation nearby, which does not appear on the pollen-record to any extent. The place-names are even less reliable, though they seem to present no contradiction of the assumption that the only significant stretches of woodland lay in the moors or away from settlements. There is no evidence to confirm or deny the possibility of large stretches of woodland in the upper or more remote parts of the upland parts. There might have been coppicing or "managed" woodland, to supply a settlement with wood for its needs, though evidence remains to be identified.

That so much land appears to have been open moor or rough pasture, by the later Prehistoric period, is not

surprising, when it is recalled that extensive land-use probably began in Neolithic times. Evidence from archaeology, historical and place-name studies can provide information that is not available from palaeo-botanical or geological. A good example, or pair of examples are in the early twelfth century Scotto-Norman charters. Ednam is described as having deserta in 1105 (Lawrie.XXIV), while David I granted the monks of Durham oxen for three plough-teams "for the restoration of the land" at Swinton, by the Tweed, in 1100 (p 92). The respective settlements or lands could have been abandoned due to: exhaustion of the land, settlement-shift or contraction, or the warfare in the lower Tweed basin in the ninth and tenth centuries. There might not have been any abandonment however, these pieces of land could have been open, rough pasture or moor, which belonged to a group of settlements and these references could have been to expansion of cultivation.

What these examples show is that any discussion of the environment of the Tweed-Forth area in early Medieval times is difficult to separate from evidence of human activity. It is for this reason that archaeological and place-name evidence is considered. This study is one of human activity in the Tweed-Forth area, in the first place and a proper and concise study of climatic and environmental changes in this area, from the Neo-lithic until the later Medieval period, remains to be completed. Similarly, a thorough archaeological study

of man's effect on the landscape remains to be completed. This section could only be described as a superficial introduction to the problems, which will be further discussed in the course of this overall study.

2) Topography

The term "topography", for the purposes of this study, means the land of the Tweed-Forth area and the ways that this has influenced communications. This area could be divided into several topographically defined, but not completely distinct, parts: the Lothian coastal plain, the uplands of the Moorfoot and Lammermuir Hills with Coldingham Moor, the lower Tweed basin or Merse plain, the Teviot basin which includes much of the land between the Tweed and the Cheviot Hills, the related valleys of the Ettrick and Yarrow Waters and the upper Tweed basin, which lies west of Caddonfoot. The first part corresponds with the later counties of West, Mid and East Lothian, the second part with Berwickshire, the third part with Roxburghshire, the fourth part with Selkirkshire and the fifth part with Peeblesshire. This is only to be expected, though the county boundaries do not automatically correspond to the natural lines of division, due to such developments, such as made Midlothian extend into the Tweed basin and the Gala valley.

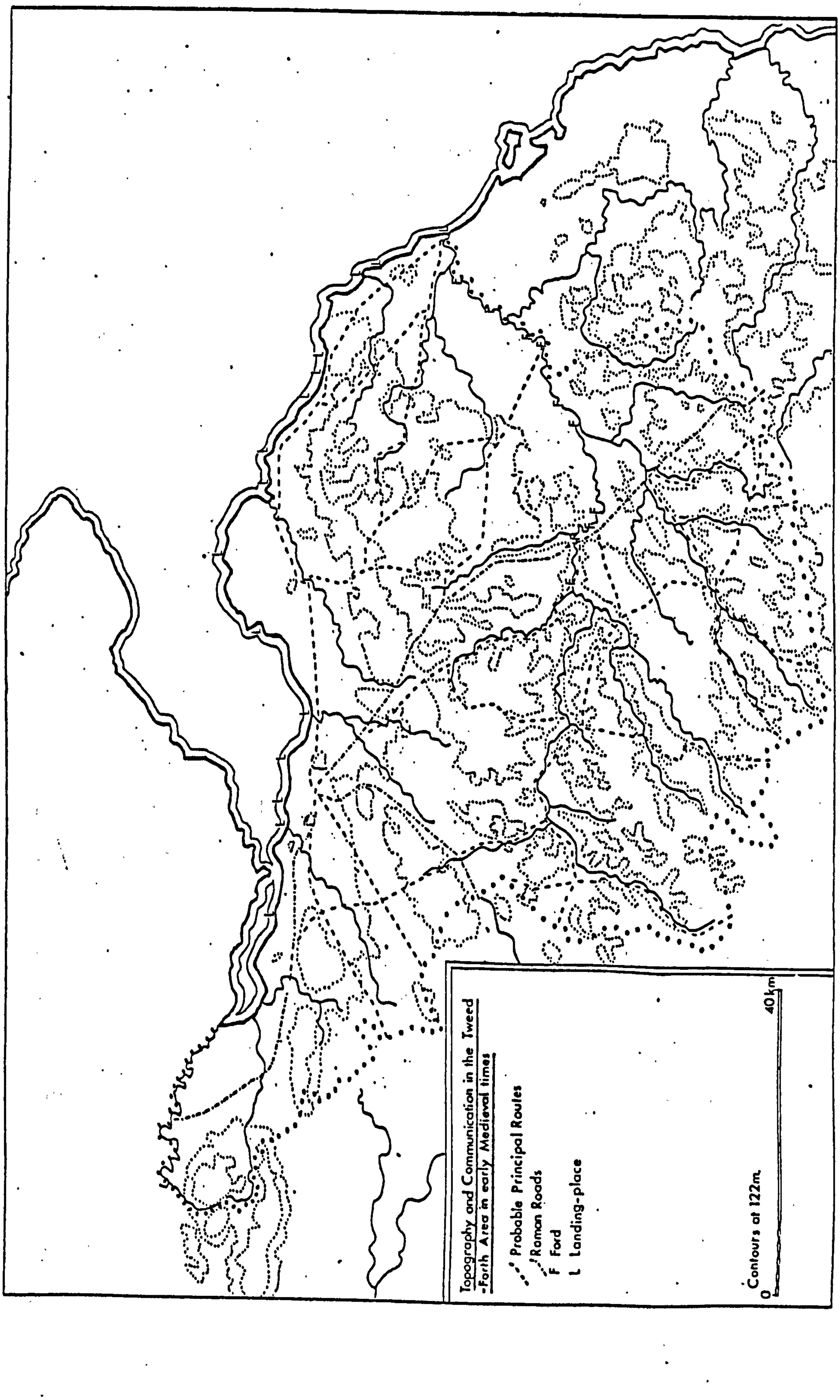
The landscape does make for some important natural barriers, the most obvious being the gorge of the Pease

Burn, which is up to 80 metres deep in some parts. with sheer sides,and appears to mark the boundary between the lands related to Coldingham and those related to Cockburnspath (Fig I.8). Between Thornylee and Pyat Hill, above Galashiels, the gorge of the Tweed River is very narrow, which would have impeded access along it, except when the water was low. None of the maps of parts of the Tweed-Forth area which date to before the late eighteenth century, show any road along the latter gorge while the former gorge was not bridged until 1789 (Thomas A 1908.13-14). There is a noticeable lack of natural barriers between the Tyne-Tweed coastal plain and the lower Tweed basin, as between the Lothians and Stirlingshire.

These barriers are not insurmountable. That on the Tweed can be bypassed by the route between the Leithen Water and the Heriot Water on the north, or the routes between Traquair and Selkirk, over the Minch Moor, on the south. The literal meaning of Heriot, as Nicolaisen has suggested, could derive from here-gaet , for "pass of the army" (1976.18) which could imply that the Leithen Water-Heriot route was an important one during the Anglo-Saxon occupation. It is no coincidence that the Traquair-Selkirk route, over Minch Moor, is impeded by two major linear earthworks, "Wallace's Trench" and part of the "Pict's Work Ditch" (RCAHMS.1967.122-3, 126-7). It is interesting to note the recurrence of these place-name elements at three other places in the Tweed-Forth area, where a

natural obstacle is crossed. The literal meaning of Yetholm could derive from "gæet-ham" or "settlement by the pass" (Nicolaisen.1976.76) and it lies where several routes over the Cheviot foothills meet (Fig I.19). Harperrig on the north side of the Pentlands, where an old route forms the Tweed valley to Linlithgow passes, could derive from "here peth" or "army route" (Dixon.1947.219) and Harpertree near Kirkud could similarly incorporate "here peth" (Ibid). These routes are possibly of considerable antiquity, though, along with the other routes which seem to be of pre-Medieval date or origin, (Fig 1.3) their dates or periods of origin are not known.

There is no doubt about the dates of the Roman roads, of which several have been identified in the Tweed-Forth area, along with the two principal routes: "Dere Street" which ran from the Northumberland Tyne basin to the Forth and that which went from the Solway to the Forth. The route of the former took it over the Cheviots near Chew Green, along the watershed between the Kale and Jed Waters, to cross the Teviot river by the junction with the Jed Water. From there it took a route over Ancrum Moor to the major station at Trimontium or Newstead, crossing the Tweed nearby and rising up to the land between the Leader and Gala valleys. It then kept to this terrain until it descended to the Leader valley near Lauder, reaching Channelkirk and crossing the Lammermuirs near the present A68 route. The later road joins and follows the line of the older except for a short stretch near Pathead. Recent work by Maxwell has shown


Topography and Communication in the Tweed
-Forth Area in early Medieval times
Probable Principal Routes
Roman Roads
F Ford
L Landing-place
Contours at 122m
0
40km

that this route crossed both branches of the Esk near Dalkeith and then is traceable as far as Nether Liberton (1983.172-6), though a possible branch route ran along the east bank of the Esk to Inveresk (Fig I.19). The route from the Solway to the Forth ran from Biggar in the Clyde valley, along the south-east flanks of the Pentlands, past West Linton and Penicuik to Hillend and the western end of the Braid Hills in the Edinburgh area. The expansion of Edinburgh, and its suburbs, has obscured the routes of the two roads, though Maxwell has also suggested that the two routes joined to the west of Edinburgh Castle, and then ran along the south flank of Corstorphine Hill, crossing the Almond river near Kirkliston (Pers.Comm.1983) (Figs I.14, 17). It then might have taken the route, now followed by the A9, via Winchburgh and Linlithgow, crossing the Avon at Linlithgow Bridge, crossing the Carron river beyond Falkirk at Larbert and the Forth near Stirling. Fragments of the route along the upper Tweed and Lyne valleys have been identified (RCAHMS.1967.342-4) along with another of Roman origin from the White Esk to the Borthwick Water and the Teviot basin (RCAHMS.1956.402-4). These latter two stretches can be associated with other routes in the vicinity, most notably the Traquair-Selkirk route over Minch Moor, with the Upper Tweed route.

Since the roads of Roman construction would have been constructed of layers of rammed gravel, they could have been ploughed out after some time, especially as a consequence of

the expansion of agriculture since the Eighteenth Century. It is obvious that not all the roads or principal routes in the Tweed-Forth area owed their origins to the Romans, though this is often overlooked by some antiquaries. The charter which refers to the boundaries between the lands of Coldingham and those of Bunkle, of 1130 (Lawrie. XC) refers to a strete" or "paved way". This apparently ran from a crossing over the Billie Mire, to Bunkle Edge, running along what is now the parish boundary between Bunkle and Coldingham to Eyeford, with a further part along a later farm track as far as Ecclaw. From there it descends to cross the Dunglass Burn near Oldhamstocks and join the coastal route to Dunbar beyond there. Fragments of the cobbling can be traced in Fawcett Wood (NT811629) though there is absolutely no evidence that the strete is Roman in origin. The importance of these old routes is not only because of how they have affected settlement-patterns but also because they provided access over the natural boundaries. Graham has referred to other important routes over the Lammermuirs, along the Adder to reach Garvald or Yester and Bolton, over Lammer Law from the Leader valley to Yester and Bolton (1949. 198-206). These would have provided other means of access between the lower Tweed basin and the Lothians, along with routes up the Gala and Eddleston Waters or over Coldingham Moor (Fig I.9). These show that contact between the Tweed basin and the Lothians might have been difficult but not badly limited. The access between the

Northumberland Tyne valley and the Tweed basin was less easy. Apart from the Roman "Dere Street" and the old tracks from the Bowmont and Kale valleys, there were few others. The A68 follows one of these, from the Jed valley to the Rede valley, over Carter's Bar. Moreover, the "Whele Causeway" ran between the valley of the Rule Water and the upper part of the valleys of the Liddle and Kielder Waters (Fig I.5), the latter watercourse being a tributary of the Northumberland Tyne. The point of meeting could also be reached from the valley of the Slitrig Water and the same valley provided access to the Borthwick Water and the Roman road referred to above (p 35).

The changes in economic patterns, climate and land-holdings would have affected the use of certain routes and this is particularly noticeable in the lower Tweed basin. In this part of the Tweed-Forth area, the present main roads run between important places of the later Medieval period, like Roxburgh, Berwick on Tweed and Lauder. In East Lothian, Belhaven, Aberlady and Haddington lie in similar situations. Roy's maps show that the route, later followed by the A697, between Greenlaw and Coldstream was almost completely direct, yet the modern route makes a turn from Hatchednize to the Tweed-side route. This could be explained by landscaping of the Hirsel estate, causing this re-routing and there might be no trace left of the old route. This does not necessarily mean that all the odd kinks or diversions in what could have been direct

routes were the results of similar re-routing processes. They could equally reflect divisions of some age, running along old property or field boundaries or drained patches of marshland or standing water and, except where a pre-Enclosure or Medieval route is recorded in some way, it would be rash to infer the path of a former route. There is also the question of which came first, the route or the important place. While the answer would probably be the former, the importance of the place or structure could have survived through several periods.

This subject of communication routes and topography also embraces watercourses since these may have been means of access rather than barriers in the early Medieval period. This is most evident in the fact that most of the parishes around the Esk and Almond rivers do not use the river itself as part of their boundaries (Figs I.12, 16). Only where the watercourse carves a gorge of some kind, like the Avon, does it become part of an important boundary, in this case the county boundary between West Lothian and Stirlingshire. The Tweed has a distinct gorge for most of its length, yet it has numerous fords, such as that of "Horford" which lay beside Horncliffe and Fishwick, and is mentioned in the charter of Edgar of 1095 (p 83). That between Upsettlington and Norham, originally known as "Ubbanford" (Barrow.1973.156), was the principal crossing-place for centuries. The crossing between Carham and the Hirsel lands was where the decisive battle of 1018 was fought. It is no coincid-

ence that the major Anglian settlement at Sprouston lies beside two fords over the Tweed, and the burgh of Roxburgh lies by two as well (Fig I.3). The siting of the major Roman fort at Newstead, the pre-Roman native settlement of 16 hectares on Eildon Hill North and the important Anglian monastery at Old Melrose, like the siting of the later Medieval burgh and castle of Roxburgh and the abbey of Kelso, is by the confluence of two major watercourses, the Tweed and the Leader in the first case, and the Tweed and the Teviot in the second. The impression is that the related confluence of the associated routes made these vicinities economically or politically important over a considerable period of time.

The importance of Edinburgh and its predecessor Din Eidyn could be related to either its position on the watershed between the Esk and Almond basins or its being where the two Roman roads met (Fig I.14). Another possible reason for its importance could be related to an odd reference, in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, when they refer to Athelstan of Wessex's seaborne expedition against the Scots in 934. They state that "he preyed and spoiled the kingdom of the Scots as far as Edinburrough", (Anderson.1922, 426) which differs from the other written sources, which all talk of Athelstan reaching as far as Dunottar (Stenton.1953.342). This is difficult to understand since Edinburgh did not lie in Scottish territory at the time (p 266). It is possible that an error was made, either by the recorder or a later tran-

scriber, and for "as far as" could read "from", implying that Edinburgh was the place where Athelstan's fleet set out from, or where it assembled. This is conjecture but Graham has identified four important landing-places in the Edinburgh area: at the mouths of the Esk and Almond rivers (associated with the Roman stations at Inveresk and Cramond (Graham.1969.255, 229)), at Wardie near Granton (Ibid.281), at Inverleith on the Waters of Leith (Ibid.250). The logistics and organisation of Athelstan's expedition are worthy subjects for study. The landing-places which made Berwick-on-Tweed such an important port in later Medieval times could have played an important role during the expedition. Indeed, this activity could have been the reason why it became the centre of a shire instead of an outlying dependency of one (p 84).

Graham's same paper, on the landing-places in the Firth of Forth, has underlined a neglected aspect of the early Medieval period, communications by water. Hope-Taylor has proposed that Lindisfarne was an important landing-place of the Angles of Bernicia (1977.292). This gives some indication of the use of water-borne transport, especially if the Angles came there by sea. As well as the group of landing-places around Edinburgh, Graham has listed others near important places of the early Medieval period. At Coldingham there were three: at

Coldingham Bay (Graham.1969.225), at the mouth of the Eye Water (Ibid.240) and at Burnmouth which could have been the "Crammesmuthe" of the 1095 charter of Edgar (p 82). Near Dunbar there were also possibly three; Castle Haven beside the Castle (Ibid.222); Belhaven which lay at the mouth of the Biel Water (and could have been the "Aberlessic" mentioned in the Life of St Kentigern (Ibid.216-7)) and possibly at Tyninghame (Ibid.281). The mention of the Bishop of St Andrews having service from Broxmouth, in the charter of 1094 concerning Tyninghame (p 81), could mean that there was an important landing-place there as well. There is also the possibility that the other recorded landing-places in the general territory of Coldingham, those at Redheugh Bay and Siccar Point near Aldcambus (Graham.1969.266), at St Abbs (Ibid.267) and Pettico Wick near St Abbs Head, were in use during this period (Fig I.8).

There is a possibility that there might have been landing-places associated with Stirling on the Forth (Ibid.278), and Falkirk or Camelon on the Carron (Ibid. 221). There is no record of any landing-places associated with the Roman fort at Carriden or the site of the Anglian monastery at Abercorn, in West Lothian, though these might have existed.

The landing-place at Aberlady, in East Lothian, was the port associated with the later Medieval burgh of Haddington (Ibid.212), though it could have been in use at an earlier date, as is implied by the

discovery of the very fine and apparently early Anglian cross near the Church (p 434). There is more than a probability that the landing-place at North Berwick existed before the Earls of Fife came to control it in the twelfth century, as the terminal of a ferry across the Forth to Earlsferry in Fife (Ibid.257). The landing-places at Castle Haven by Tantallon Castle in East Lothian, Thorntonloch near Dunglass (with Skateraw nearby (Ibid.222, 279, 273)) along with Blackness and Society in West Lothian (Ibid.217, 274) are only referred to in later Medieval documents. However they lie in naturally sheltered spots and could have been used in early Medieval times.

This is not very impressive evidence for communication by sea in the early Medieval period, though it is doubtful that significant remains would have survived to show use of a landing-place in this time. The occurrence of long-cist cemeteries on both sides of the Forth (Fig 4.4) and the record of St Cuthbert's seaborne voyage to the "Niduarian" Picts (pp 59-66) could be taken as further evidence for communications by sea in the Firth of Forth. The distribution of the long-cists is noticeably close to the coastline (Fig 4.4).

Graham, in the same paper, lists various important landing-places on the north side of the Firth, which could also have been in use during the early Medieval period, such as Crail, Kinghorn, and St Andrews (Graham.1969.226-8, 247, 267). It is thus possible that there was much contact around the Firth of Forth in the early Medieval period, between the peoples who inhabited the lands around it, using the landing-places. This can be seen in the influences present in the later Anglo-Saxon carved stones and crosses which have been found at Abercorn (p 410) and the probable Anglian influence in the establishment of the monastery at "Kinnrimont" or St Andrews (Cowan and Easson.1976.49).

The Firth of Forth, by its shape, makes communication between different parts of the land around it by water as viable as that by land, especially in the eastern part. The Pictish symbol-stone from Edinburgh (p 173), like the brochs and souterrains which have been found south of the Forth, show that this stretch of water was not a barrier to cultural influences or possibly even migration. The siting of Abercorn, with Trumwine "made bishop... over the Picts" (Bede.4,26) on the south side of the Forth, in 682-5, shows that contact and influence were possible in the early Medieval period, across the Firth. That Manau lay on both sides of the River Forth (p 108), shows that the Roman boundary of the Antonine Wall and the possible Northum-

brian use of the Forth as their northern boundary were cutting across native groupings rather than going between them.

The relationship between settlements, their associated fields and the topography is fairly obvious, as this section shows. A site or settlement owes its importance to the surrounding landscape, the routes and land fertility and its special importance to its relationship to other associated sites and settlements. The topography also would have been responsible for the political or tribal arrangements, with the distinction between the Tweed basin and the Lothians. This is shown in the fact that the parishes in the upper Tweed and Teviot basins, which could incorporate early landholdings, are related to individual valleys, like those of the Gala, Manor, Quair, Slitrig, Borthwick or Ale Waters. Within these parts of the Tweed-Forth area, the boundaries would have been more influential and permanent than those that would have existed in the lowland parts. The property boundaries, if they existed before the twelfth century, might have been more fluid and related to individual settlements rather than groups of them. What is interesting about these parish boundaries is the fact that they either follow natural markers like streams or ridges or artificial lines which bear little relation to the landscape. This latter pattern can be seen in the boundaries of the parishes around Humbie and Pencaitland (Fig I.13), around Ancrum and Nisbet (Fig I.4)

and with parishes which are recorded as being late in origin, like Gladsmuir in East Lothian, Livingston and Bathgate in West Lothian (Figs I.16, 18) and the parishes around Dunbar (Fig I.10). These probably show later Medieval expansion of settlement or land cultivation into uncultivated or sparsely inhabited parts of the Tweed-Forth area, a subject which will be discussed more thoroughly below (p 334). In the upland parts of the Tweed basin, in the valleys where there were cultivable soils, it is possible that the parish boundaries represent boundaries of landholding units which existed by the early Medieval period, as I M Smith has proposed with the valley of the Manor Water (1982.31-4). In the lowland parts of the Tweed-Forth area, there might have been more room for flexibility and movement within loosely-defined land-blocks since the population of the area would have been smaller, one assumes, than at present. It is no coincidence that these later parish boundaries can either be related to later creation, like Hailes from the larger parish of St Cuthberts, Edinburgh (Cowan.1967. 177) or be related to places where there has been expansion on to uncultivated stretches of land, such as Bathgate and Livingston in relation to Drumshoreland Muir (p 19) Fig I.16).

It is clear that topography, by itself, cannot answer all the problems of settlement and economy in the Tweed-Forth area, in early Medieval times. Since the topo-

graphy is part of the background, this section is an introduction to the need to consider this background when interpreting or assessing what evidence has been identified as relevant. Since the area had a "living landscape" with settlement-shifts and desertion, through-out the periods before and after early Medieval times, ideally there should be studies of settlement geography in parts of the area, in the late Prehistoric and later Medieval periods. These are either lacking or patchy and the best way to approach these problems would be to use the idea of "total archaeology", to see a site or its vicinity in the natural and archaeological setting. The depth of study will differ between individual parts of the Tweed-Forth area, due to the differing density of remains which have been excavated or studied and of records in written sources which relate to the early Medieval period. As has already been said, the evidence for this period exists in the area, it remains to be identified and interpreted, as will be done in the various chapters below.

CHAPTER TWO

WRITTEN SOURCES

1) British

The Historia Brittonum and the Gododdin

These two sources are British in that they originate in the British territory of Wales and were committed to writing in British environments. Otherwise there are important differences. The Historia Brittonum is literally a History of the Britons which was compiled from a variety of earlier documents some of which were of Anglo-Saxon origin (Dumville.1977a.348-52). It was intended as a historical work, in spite of the limited nature of the source material, and was written in Latin. The Gododdin was written in Brittonic or Old Welsh and was a lengthy elegiac poem. It also drew on an older oral tradition, apparently committing to writing verses composed in the early seventh century (Jackson.1969.56-67).

In view of these differences, it might seem improper to treat these two sources together. What is important, in the context of this study, is that they contain information concerning Brittonic North Britain which was written in a British environment. Both works have been the subject of studies by authorities like Jackson, Dumville, and Williams. However, there are significant problems in the later writers' treatment of the earlier documents which brings into question the validity

of the evidence given and its interpretation.

The whole of the Historia Brittonum is not relevant to this study, just parts of what has become known as the Northern Chronicle and Genealogies and have been the subject of study by authorities on the period, most notably by Jackson (1963) and Dumville (1977a). These parts would appear to have had a most complicated development, from what Jackson has called the Northern Chronicle, of mid-eighth century date, which could have been based on earlier historical notes and were written in Rheged, a British kingdom around the Solway, which was later taken over by Northumbria (Ibid.1963.44-62). Dumville agrees with this but is doubtful about what happened to this source between its being written and its being incorporated in the Historia Brittonum (1977a.348-52). In short, there would appear to be reason for doubting the veracity of the historical information which the source appears to impart. As with the Gododdin poem, there is no generally accepted translated version of the various manuscripts of this source, the compilation of which is accepted as being in the ninth century; Dumville has dated it to 829 or 830 (1977a.354). He is also doubtful about the compiler's treatment of his few sources, "..his synchronising method prevents us from accepting his version of events" (Ibid. 353). This means that there is no real guarantee that events took place in the order that they were related in this source.

One of the events described which is relevant to this

study is the alleged migration of Cunedag and his twelve sons from Manau Guotodin to Gwynedd in Wales "one hundred and forty years before Mailcun reigned", in Chapter 63. Chadwick has interpreted this as a "foundation-myth" for Gwynedd, since the twelve sons of Cunedag allegedly gave their names to the twelve parts of Gwynedd (1958.32-4). Jackson has pointed out that Cunedag is an early form of the name Cunedda (1963.47), which only shows the possibility of an early origin of the tale, though it does not rule out the possibility of connections between Gododdin and Gwynedd. So this reference could at least indicate some kind of connection between the area and Gwynedd, possibly confused by legends. There is other evidence for this (Jackson.1969.28, 74-5) and this reference could be evidence for Manau being the paramount area of Gododdin (Dumville.1977.181), an interpretation which Jackson does not accept (1963.47). Davies has pointed out the similarity between Manau and 'manaug', which was one word for a Brittonic 'ǵwledig' or superior chief for a wide area (1984.Pers.Comm), but this does not prove very much. This incident and the statement occur in effective isolation, the events leading up to it and the causes and effects are not given so reasonable interpretation is not possible.

The raid on Metcaud by a confederation of British chiefs, under Urien of Reged, which is referred to in Chapter 63, might not be strictly relevant to this study but it has implications which need to be considered. As with the previous event, this is referred to in

apparent isolation and is not mentioned in the Annales Cambriae or any other British source, reflecting the problems of source survival and local concerns. Jackson has identified the place with Lindisfarne and one of the other British chiefs as Rydderch of Strathclyde (1963.30-1), though the identities of the two other participants "Gwallawg" and "Morcant" and their localities are not definitely known. There is no direct evidence that they were chiefs under Urien's power or local ones in Bernicia or the Tweed basin. Jackson does not accept the identification of "Gwallawg" with a chief of "Elmet" in West Yorkshire (1963.31) and the statement that Morcant caused the death of Urien "pro invidia" is open to many interpretations. The lack of specific mention of participation by the chief of the Gododdin in this event has led to the use of this account to prove hostility between Urien and the Gododdin (Lovecy.1976). This is far from definite since the bias of the original writer of this Northern History in Reged could have led to lack of detail or deliberate omission, or the detail could have been lost otherwise. Thus this detail, which could have been most useful is not as informative as it might appear.

The reference in Chapter 65 to "Osguid" or Oswiu King of Northumbria returning treasure to Penda of Mercia at "urbs Iudeu , what is called "atbret Iudeu", for "the restitution at Iudeu",(Jackson.1963.38) might be supported by the reference in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica

(III.24), to an identical event though Bede does not name the place. The problem of the identification of this place will be dealt with below (p 60), though there is some reason for identifying it with a predecessor of Stirling Castle. That the British called the place urbs could be taken as evidence for the place being of considerable importance before the Anglian arrival. It does seem to imply that this place was the most important place in the vicinity.. at some time, but this does not necessarily follow. At the very least this reference supports and adds detail to an event recorded by a more reliable authority and Jackson has also pointed out that the word atbret is another archaic example, dating the event or its recording to around 651 (1963.38). The full implications of this record will be dealt with below (p 262). and it also seems to give some indication of the extent of Northumbrian power at this time.

These three pieces of information are not particularly impressive and the first two tend to emphasise the problems of using information given in the Historia Brittonum and apparently in no others. These show the perennial problem of more being implied and hinted at than being proven and recounted in a satisfactory manner. These imply that more happened in the area in this period than is indicated in other sources and this record of fragmentary details of what were probably major events is more frustrating than informative.

There are two basic problems with using information in the Gododdin poem; the fact that it does not directly recount the event or events that inspired the work and that there is no complete and satisfactory translation of the text. Jackson was not able to fully translate all one hundred and thirty awdlau or verses, due to the presence of "too many obscurities....and it would be quite premature yet to offer what could be called a 'full' translation" (1969.vii-viii). Nevertheless he provides the most thorough and comprehensive study of this poem that is available and is satisfied that, in spite of the time that appears to have elapsed between oral composition and its earliest commitment to writing, it incorporates a great deal of material of early date (Ibid.56-67). The grounds for this are both linguistic and relating to "syllabic verse and rhyme", as well as the contemporary tone of the addresses to the dead. These are disputed by other authorities like Dumville (1978) and MacCana (1971), though they are agreed on the writing in the ninth and tenth centuries. This is the period during which the first identified writing down of the work took place, which would appear to leave plenty of time for interpolations and additions to have been made (Jackson 1969.42-5). A further problem is whether this work gives an accurate reflection of events and circumstances at the time when it was probably composed, soon after 600 and in the Gododdin area, possibly at Din Eidyn (Ibid.22-5) or whether it is

more indicative of attitudes and ideas towards the North British Heroic Age in ninth century Wales.

Jackson has defended his conclusions that the work does "represent in some form the work of Aneirin dating from around 600" (1974). The problem is in deciding how much of the work is such and how much is not. Some parts are recognisable, like the fragment of a poem celebrating the victory over Domnal Breac and the Scots, of Owein and the Britons of Strathclyde in 642 at Strathcarron (Jackson.1969.46-51),while others are less obvious and have yet to be identified. Similarly, there is a certain degree of doubt about the various additional details in the text which appear to provide useful inform-ation on the Britons in the area during and before the period of this study.

Though the series of events that led to the deaths of those who are commemorated in the poem are not actually recounted, the general outline is agreed by most authorities. This is that "about the year 600" (Ibid.8) a force of around three hundred British cavalry were defeated and effectively wiped out by a vastly superior Anglo-Saxon force at Catraeth, which is usually identified with Catterick in Yorkshire. What is especially important is that, prior to the battle, these were at Din Eidyn for a year of feasting and hospitality, given by Mynyddog Mwynfawr who would appear to have been a chief of some importance. Since Din

Eidyn" was a predecessor of Edinburgh Castle, it would therefore seem to follow that the place was the centre of the sub-Roman kingdom of the "Gododdin" and "Mynyddog Mwynfawr" was the paramount chief of the same.

This is not definitely proven, at least in the text and what it says, though the fact is that Britons from as far afield as Gwynedd and Elmet and two from north of "the sea of Iuddew" which is the Forth (Ibid.6), which would mean that the two persons were Picts (Ibid), implies that "Mynyddog Mwynfawr" was either a person of considerable prestige or the area or site of "Din Eidyn" was.

Alcock has pointed out that the work was primarily intended as a product of poetic imagination, and not as history. It was also a conflation of traditions which may not bear any relation to actual events (1974.17).

There is much additional detail that appears to provide useful information on the Britons of Gododdin, references to some of the persons involved taking part in Christian religious activities (Jackson.1969.37), to military tactics and equipment (Ibid.28-32) and to their standard of living (Ibid.33-7). The reliability of these is somewhat limited by their possibility of being later additions or "embroidery" in the interests of writing about the "North British Heroic Age", added in the period between the composition and recording.

Dumville has commented on the British Celtic attitude to history and the recording of it (1977) though his comments apply to the source material for the Historia Brittonum as well, though he does not specifically ~~refer to the~~ Gododdin . As with the former work, what evidence is given as regards the history of the area and what was in the area before the Angles, appears in effective isolation, since the battle of "Catraeth" is not mentioned in any Anglian source or even the Annales Cambriae , though it is mentioned in at least two Welsh poems, a panegyric on Cadwallon, the notable king of Gwynedd and an elegy on Cynddylan, a British chief in the Severn basin in the mid-seventh century (Jackson.1969.61-2). This lack of supporting evidence is only to be expected and the fact that any reliable details of this period have been identified in a source of British authorship is most important, even if it is somewhat fragmentary and gives limited details of what was an event of major importance. The same applies to the Historia Brittonum since it indicates and implies more than it actually informs in any appreciable degree of useful detail.

This does not mean that both these sources and what information they give is to be disregarded; the work of Jackson on both of these and by Dumville on the Historia Brittonum , strongly argue against such an attitude. Though they both agree that much work remains to be done on both, there is enough support

from other pieces of information about the period and its history which refer to events and details mentioned in other sources of comparable contemporaneity to more than imply the validity of these other pieces. Though the problems of distinguishing between "History and Legend", as Dumville has put it (1977) still remain, both these sources provide important information on the area in the British period that is not available elsewhere. What they do imply is totally compatible with the kind of society and economy that existed in post-Roman Wales, such as that studied by Davies (1982), which will be examined in more detail in the appropriate chapter below. The problem is applying these details to earlier or slightly later periods and extending the implications of Mynyddog Mwynfawr at "Din Eidyn" to evidence for the latter being an "over-chief" of "Gododdin". The latter might have been the seat of office, for want of a better term, with the rest of the Tyne-Forth region being sub-chiefdoms of the "kingdom". There is no direct evidence for this series of assumptions or the structure and extent of "Gododdin" in this period; they are based on what the poem says and on comparisons with other British areas. The poem at least embodies a tradition of considerable prestige attaching to the personage or the "Gododdin" itself, as well as contact between the area and the Picts.

The episode of Cunedag and the "foundation-legend" is not yet totally explained; the archaic version of the

personal name and the reference to "Manau Guotodin" seem to imply at least some kind of genuine detail in the piece. Neither of the two sources provides any kind of detail on the relationship between Manau and God-oddin nor Urbs Iuddeu and Din Eidyn , because of what writings have survived and the concerns of the various composers and scribes. It is unfortunate that the poems of Taliesin have not been subject to the same study as the "Gododdin" since, as Lovecey has pointed out, they contain various references to Manau , Eidyn and Prydei which could mean Britons or Picts (1976.40) and like the Gododdin poem, are written in a contempor-ary tone for Urien of Reged and his sons. The problems of using these sources remain and can only be lessened by further study; all this section has done is to mention and discuss the pieces of information which are relevant to this period and have been identified by the author-ities who are named above. Since the concern of this study is primarily archaeological, the writer is in no position to offer his own interpretations, only to note these details and use them for what information they give on aspects of the period.

2) Northumbrian

'Life of St Cuthbert, "Auctorite Anonymo"

There are two extant versions of the earliest known Life of St Cuthbert, the one that is the subject of study in this section, which Colgrave has dated to around 699 to 705 and written by an unidentified Lindisfarne monk (1940.13); and the other which is an edited version written by Bede, around 721 (Ibid.16). The Anonymous Life , as it is known, is of considerable importance to this study since it is a primary source concerned with someone who lived and was active near to and in the Tweed-Forth area, in the Anglian period and was written almost contemporary with the events described. Though a "Vita" in the sense of being a saint's Life, the "hagiographical gloss" which could distort relevant information is less pronounced than it could be (Ibid.4). However, it is still not easy to distinguish between what is reliable and what has been added in the interests of hagiography.

An example of this is the incident of Cuthbert "tending the flocks of his master....in the hills (montanis) by the River Ledir" (I. V) in 651. This has generally been accepted as proof of an Anglian or Anglo-British community in the Leader vicinity, at least a generation before this date. The reference to "his master" is most generalised and could apply both to a chief to whom he was in service and a relative. Local tradition placed the site of where he saw the vision as Channelkirk

which is on the upper reaches of the Leader but there is no proof for this. The incident could have been distorted by the Christian tradition of the "Good Shepherd", which required that he was a shepherd rather than merely one of a community doing some other kind of activity. The reference to a "master" is hardly reliable as evidence for a "multiple estate" in the vicinity and since the incident is really recorded for the vision of Aidan's ascension to Heaven, the accuracy of other details would not have been important to the author. In view of other references to St Cuthbert's upbringing and his foster-mother at "Hruringaham", the incident might provide an insight in to aspects of kinship in the area during the period, if the work were properly examined.

There are the usual problems of errors and inconsistencies due to misspelling, bad handwriting and other faults of copyists. Colgrave records seven extant copies of the Anonymous Life, thirty-six of Bede's Life and twenty-six lost copies of both (1940.16-42): of these, the earliest of the respective versions are of late ninth to early tenth century and early tenth century date (Ibid). The differences are essentially minor but are more marked as regards place-name spellings, of which there are various examples in the Anonymous Life. The "Niduarian" Picts are called "Niud aeralegio" and "Niudera" in the Anonymous Life (II.IV) and "Nidurari" and Niduari in Bede's Life (XI). The former identification with the vicinity of the River Nith in Dumfriesshire is no longer

accepted and Hunter Blair has proposed that the word is the result of trying to adapt the Celtic "nGiudan" to the Old English of the Anonymous Life (1954.168,n2). This would mean that these Picts were in the regio of what Bede called "urbs Giudi", the British sources "Iuddeu" and the Gaelic "nGiudan" (Watson.1926.209.n2). Rutherford's proposal that "Giudi" was Cramond, on the Forth (1978) has been rejected by Jackson (1963.81). However definite proof that Giudi was Stirling remains to be identified. The late M Millar (1983.Pers.Comm) suggested that this episode showed some kind of connection between Melrose, which was where Cuthbert was at the time, and the Picts. The use of the term regio could imply a "rex" or important person at the place, indeed Hunter Blair has suggested that Stirling was the seat of the "comes" which he has identified as having duties as regards the defence of Northumbria's northern frontier (1954.170-2). Jackson has not commented on this identification nor on the meaning of Giudi so much of this is somewhat speculative. The role of this place in Northumbria and its relations with the Picts is worthy of more study. Oswiu's flight to Giudi with his treasure in 651/653 shows that the regio might have been friendly towards the Angles by that time.

The various references to place-names is one of the principal values of the Anonymous Life compared to Bede's version which omits most of them. Unfortunately Cox's

study of them has failed to identify those that had not been already located, like the "regione...Kintis" which was within a day's horse ride from Lindisfarne (1976.40-1). He did suggest that the name was originally Brittonic, like Cunet, while not commenting on the implications of the word regione. Similarly, the Bedesfeld, which the Anonymous Life merely calls a villa (IV.IV) and Bede's version records as having "a great company of nuns" under Aeffleda, the daughter of Oswiu (23), is unidentified. The otherwise unrecorded "Hruringaham" of the Anonymous Life (II.VII), where Cuthbert's foster-mother resided has been located at Wrangham, in the Leader basin, by Cox, on the basis of local tradition (NT626359)(Ibid.36). Williamson has pointed out that the Anonymous Life placed the visit as part of preaching activity "in montanis" and after activity beside the Teviot (I.V-VII). She was of the opinion that Rising-ham in the North Tyne-Rede basin was a more likely candidate, because of its geographical proximity and its spelling (1942.5-6), though this does not appear to have been accepted by other authorities.

The references to Cuthbert preaching "in montanis", probably on the lower slopes of the Cheviots, would appear to be evidence for continued settlement in upland areas by the native Britons, though the author of the Anonymous Life does not identify them as such. These references have been recognised and used with reference to the "non-defensive stone-walled settlements" on the slopes of

the Cheviot foothills, though the details of houses large enough for Cuthbert to preach to the community and "outlying houses" are somewhat generalised. This generalised tone is true of Cuthbert's companion in the Teviot episode, referring to locals as "alienis ignotis" and to his own kindred being at a distance, implying localised communities and loyalties, which is only to be expected. The Teviot area would appear to have had an intriguing position as regards the see and monastery at Lindisfarne. The Historia de S. Cuthberto suggests that it was a private estate of Bishop Ecgred, the block of land related to Jedburgh, before it was given to the see proper, (p 75). Reginald of Durham, in his far from reliable writings, claimed that the church of Cavers, which lies at the centre of the block, was founded in 687 and had subsidiary chapels at Slitrig and Northouse in his Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus (1834.284-92). The later Durham claim to the area against Glasgow's control could account for Reginald's claim (Kapelle.1979.156-7). This specific mention in the Anonymous Life could indicate an early Northumbrian foundation in the area, especially if seen alongside the somewhat circumstantial supporting evidence.

The references to Hildmer whom Bede calls "praefectus Ecgfridi" (26) whose "villa" was near Melrose (III.VIII); "Sibba Ecgfridi regis comite" whose "vicum" was "beside the river which is called Tweed" (IV.VII);

and "Hemma....comitis Aldfridi" whose "villula was in "regione....Kintis" (IV.III) are very important. They would appear to be proof of the existence of Anglian nobles, or landowners with titles, in or near to the lower Tweed basin, with apparently important roles, as is implied by their titles and the words used to describe their residences (Campbell.1979.42-7). It would be rather rash to identify Hildmer's villa with the apparent hall-site at Eildontree Plantation (Fig 6.2) especially since it is not definitely proven to be an Anglian hall-settlement. Or to identify Sibba's vicum with the apparent villa regis at Whitmuir-haugh, Sprouston (St Joseph.1982), since these three personages have not received the study they deserve, especially in the light of Campbell's paper. It is also worthwhile to note that praefectus is the word Bede uses for Berhtfrith, who defeated the Picts at Strathcarron in 711 (H E 5.24).

The reference to Cuthbert's preaching in "regione ....Ahse", between Hexham and Carlisle, as the Anony-mous Life records (IV.V), is not strictly relevant but the "tents" and "huts of felled branches" for Cuthbert and his companions, as Bede's version also notes (XXXII) seems to imply some kind of established practice among the people of the vicinity. There seems to be no reason not to conjecture a similar practice in the Tweed-Forth area, during this period, not least since the literal meaning of Peebles is "place of the tents"

and is a Brittonic word (Nicolaisen.1976.172)(p 108).

As with other points made above, this will be further discussed below, with other information, along with the various references to Cuthbert's preaching "in villis" or "in viculis". This use of these words has been pointed out by Campbell (1979) as occurring in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica and the Life of St Wilfrid, the implication being that the estate structure of the area influenced the venue of the preaching. Appropriately enough, the Life - both the Anonymous and Bede's - refer to "great villages and estates" which lost inhabitants due to an outbreak of "pestilentia".

Bede's editing of the Anonymous Life led to the omission of a most important piece of information, that refers to Cuthbert's "dwelling in the camp with the army in the face of the enemy (I.VIII).

It is a tantalisingly brief section, with reference to "meagre rations" and being besieged "in the royal camp" about which little can really be made except that it shows how people who lived in or had connections with the Leader valley were involved in warfare on the side of the Anglian kings in this period. Seen alongside the various references to kin-ship, the source appears to give vague but intriguing hints as to the society of the Anglo-Britons in the Tweed-Teviot basin that is not usually available. It is therefore most unfortunate that no authority on the society of

this period appears to have given these the interpretation they need nor made more use of them than the little they have received.

Alcock made use of the details about Cuthbert's visit to Colodesbyrig" (Alcock E A & L 1981) to aid the location of the site of the monastery on Kirk Hill on St Abb's Head, as was proven by his subsequent excavation. It is also the earliest known recording of the name, Nicholaisen has suggested that it was a translation of a British name "Caer Colud" or "Din Colud" since Colud appears to have been a British word (1976.72). This could provide an interesting implication of continuity which needs to be seen in relation to other classes of evidence, both place-names and archaeological.

It would be true to say that this source has much information on many aspects of the area in this period . The problem is in taking it further than merely indicative, since much of the supporting evidence is somewhat circumstantial. In spite of this work being used for individual pieces of information, general study of the work and its details is not very advanced. It would benefit from more thorough study by authorities on the period since its position as a primary source of information on Northern Northumbria in the mid and late seventh centuries makes it most valuable.

The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus

This "Vita" was written by Eddius Stephanus, a cleric who could be the "Aedde surnamed Stephen" who is mentioned by Bede as a "singing-master....who was invited from Kent by the most reverend Wilfrid"(H E IV.2) and is mentioned in the Life as a companion of Wilfrid (Colgrave.1984.IX-XII). The Life was written from personal memory and Wilfrid's own details, and is obviously biased though not in such details as are relevant to this study. The value of this work is not only that it is a primary one and written almost contemporary to the events described but also because of its general lack of concern with miracles and the like. It is closer to a somewhat tendentious biography rather than a hagiography, unlike the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert. Eddius is a somewhat more worldly cleric than Bede or the anonymous author of the earlier Life of St Cuthbert; one value of the work is in providing a different angle on Northumbria and its kings and nobles in the late seventh and early eighth century from that provided by Bede.

As Sawyer has pointed out, the most important piece of information which Eddius gives us is in his account of the dedication of Wilfrid's church at Ripon, in Chapter 17, when he refers to "subreguli et abbates et praefecti" being among those present (1973.34). The term 'subregulus' literally means "under king" and Sawyer interprets this as referring to either British

kings continuing to reign under Northumbrian overlordship or Anglian kings in similar positions. Since Ripon lies close to the former British kingdoms of Elmet and Craven, the reference could be "subreguli" from these. Our problem is in applying it to the Tweed-Forth area, where there is no direct evidence for them, only implication and somewhat circumstantial support. Essentially, it comes down to the assumption that what Eddius referred to was common practice in Northumbria as a whole.

One of these "subreguli" is named in the nineteenth chapter, Beornhaeth who fought alongside Ecgfrith against a Pictish "revolt", in "the early years of his reign". Hunter Blair has identified a series of references to Northumbrian officials of the late seventh and early eighth centuries who appear to have had special responsibility for defending the northern frontier of Northumbria (1954.170-2). Beornhaeth was one of them, along with Beort or Beortred whom Bede called exercitu duce (H E IV.26) and the "E" Anglo-Saxon Chronicle called ealdorman, and Bertfrith whom Bede called praefectus (V.24) and Eddius called "a nobleman, second in rank only to the king", in the sixtieth chapter of the Life. The first of the latter two was not present at the battle of Nectanesmere but was killed in battle with the Picts in 699 while the latter defeated the Picts "between Avon and Carron" in 711 and, according to Eddius, played an important role in the accession of Osred in 705. Hunter Blair further speculated that these could have been members of a

dynasty with these responsibilities, with *urbs Giudi* as a forward base (Ibid.172). If the term *subregulus* is literally applied to the area, it could be assumed that this official replaced a British ruler, possibly the one who is usually thought to have resided at *Din Eidyn*, as the *Gododdin* poem referred to the predecessor of Edinburgh Castle. The evidence to support such speculation is lacking, no reference at all has been identified to this *ealdorman*'s residence and its location. All these references say is what has been referred to above and not much more.

As well as the references to *subreguli* Eddius also refers to two *praefecti* "Osfrith who was *praefectus* urbis regalis in Bromic", in Chapter 36 and Tydlin of Ecgfrith's "urbs sua Dynbaer", in Chapter 38. Barrow has identified the former place with a lost settlement on the River Breamish in Northumberland (1973.66) while the latter is usually identified with the predecessor of Dunbar in East Lothian. The problem is in locating the site of the *urbs*. The hall and enclosure of Anglian type that has been excavated on Doon Hill has not been satisfactorily proven as such. An as yet unlocated site, closer to the later castle and town would be more acceptable. The site and function of this site will be discussed more fully below (p 314) and there is reason to believe that its importance continued beyond the period dealt with in this work. This is because it is mentioned in the *Old Scottish Chronicle* as *Dunbarre*, one of the places

"burnt" by Kenneth mac Alpin in one of his six raids into England during his reign 841-57 (Anderson A O 1922.288). Eddius' reference to Tydlin's residence gives no real detail, other than some incompetent smiths, of the place and its occupants. The term "praefectus" is also used by Bede for "Beortred" the "subregulus", referred to above, but is also used in his Life of St Cuthbert for "Hildmer", who resided near Melrose (pp 62-3). Thacker has discussed this use of differing titles and concluded that these referred to roles and power in a specific context, a "subregulus" might also be a "praefectus" but a "praefectus" might not necessarily be a "subregulus" (1981, 211)

In the thirty-ninth chapter, Eddius refers to Ecgfrith and his queen making a royal progress "per civitates et castellos vicosque", which is almost identical to Bede's description of Edwin's royal progress "inter civitates sive villas aut provincias" (H E II.16). This appears to support Campbell's proposition of certain settlements having differing roles and status (1979). What is especially significant is that the eventual destination was "Colodaesburg", the double monastery at or near Coldingham, which had had Aebba, Ecgrfith's aunt as the abbess. This reference apparently implies that the progress was at least partly through the Merse. Campbell's discussion of these recorded places has suggested that there were "possible relations between the names of places and their functions within the structures

of authority (Ibid.50). Eddius' use of "urbs" in association with "praefectus", which Campbell sees as being synonymous with the other word "burh" (Ibid.42), can be compared with the other references to Anglian officials and the mentions of "urbs", "villa" or "vicus" in the other sources which are discussed elsewhere in this study. The impression is thus of "structures of authority" existing in certain parts of the area at this time.

This particular source yields important details which are relevant to this area. One of these is the reference in the chapter on the dedication of the church at Ripon to "holy places in various parts of the country which the British clergy had deserted". This would essentially mean the vicinity of Ripon and the areas of York and Elmet and it would be somewhat straining this data to apply it to the Tweed-Forth area. With Campbell's study, which will be more thoroughly discussed below (pp 197, 342) there is supporting evidence for applying the information to the Tweed-Forth area, along with similar conclusions drawn by other authorities from other relevant material. This particular source is best considered alongside the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert. This is because they were written at very similar times. They also deserve more study than they have so far received.

Historia de S. Cuthberto

It is to the shadowy personage of Simeon Dunelmensis that this particular source is attributed, along with the Historia Regum and the collection of works generally termed Opera . The Historia is a most intriguing document, of an obviously secondary nature, which has very little reference to St Cuthbert himself and is essentially a record of the early history of the see of which he was the first occupant. What is especially important about it is that it includes references to the "Lands of St Cuthbert", blocks of land and vills with dependent land, and thus appears to give details of the possessions of the monastery and see of Lindisfarne and its related establishments.

The question of the reliability of the information is particularly pronounced since though Dunelm-on-Wear or Durham was the direct successor of Lindisfarne, the way that details got to the former place from the latter could bring in some clear element of doubt. After the sack of the latter place by the Vikings in 793, the see was moved, first to Norham during the reign of Bishop Ecgred 830-46, then to "Cunacestre" in 882 (now Chester-le Street) after several years of wandering, and finally to Dunelm on Wear in 995. It must be asked whether any documents relating to these earlier lands survived the sack and were taken with St Cuthbert's relics and survived to be copied by the compilers of

this source. Craster has proposed that the latter relied on "late oral tradition" and did not commit the details writing before the mid-tenth century (1954.178). None of the recent studies of this source, by Hart (1975) or Morris (1979) have sought to contradict this or to offer any alternative conjecture as to how the evidence came to be included. It has not received the thorough interpretive study that the Historia Regum section of the Opera has, and this discussion could hardly do it justice since only some of the entries are relevant to this study.

Craster notes that the earliest surviving version is a late eleventh century copy of one probably dating from earlier in the same century and it was not written before the mid-tenth century (1954.78). It could be conjectured that the document was compiled at "Cunacestre", in the aftermath of Athelstan's visit there in 934 and the restoration of Northumbria as a result of his activities. The Historia attempts to place individual grants of land and "vills" into the history of Northumbria and the see. A good example of this is the grant of land beside the "Bolbenda" or Bowmont Water in Roxburghshire with various "vills" which the compiler attributes to Oswine of Deira, given to St Cuthbert in 651 on hearing of the latter's vision of St Aidan rising to heaven. The fact that Oswiu, who was a rival to Oswine, ruled the area and had the latter murdered before Aidan's death, seems to have been unknown to the compiler. This could be due to carelessness on the compiler's part or could reflect the limited

historical sources available to him. Craster appears to think that Oswiu is meant and he has proposed that the grant is one of the "twelve bookland estates" given to Lindisfarne after his victory at Winwaed in 654 (1954.180). These are listed as; "Suggariple et Hesterhah et Gista - dun et Waquirtun et Cliftun et Scerbedle et Colwela et Eltherburna et Thornburnum et Scotadun et Gatham et Minethrum". Whether it is "the mutilated version of a genuine land block" (Ibid) is not agreed by the authorities. Barrow (1973.Map 5) and Arnold (1882.139 n r-z) have identified the twelve mentioned "vills" with sites on the Bowmont and Kale Waters. Hart (1975.131) considers some of them to have been from other grants to Melrose e.g. Colwela" for Colewell near Hexham, along with ones from the Bowmont, gathered on to one patchy list. Though no place-name authority has sought to identify these, some like "Gatham , Minethrum" and "Cliftun" can be identified with Yetholm, Mindrum and Clifton, while others like "Scerbedle" and "Suggariple" could be Morebattle or Shereburgh and Sourhope or Saughtree respectively. The fact that the number of "vills" is twelve has been noted by Kapelle (1979.79) as worthy of note since this number or multiples of it seems to occur as regards the number of vills in reliably recorded "estates" of this period. For this reason and for others that will be dealt with below (p 77), the writer agrees with Craster, that the detail of this record is such that it could well be a genuine survival

from Lindisfarne or a copy of one.

There is markedly less detail for the lands given to Melrose, merely "cum omnibus suis appenditiis", which Craster interprets as a Latin translation of <u>geburctūnas'</u>
"
....the farmsteads or hamlets of a peasant population. It implies the grouping of vills round an administrative centre" (1954.191-2). This shows that the survival of the information was far from uniform and adds very little to what is known about Melrose.

Some generalisation can be seen in the paragraph that begins "And this is the boundary of the lands of Lindisfarne". These are "From the Lammermuirs thence to Eskmouth" and the White Adder, Tweed and Leader rivers, which effectively means the present territories of East Lothian and Berwickshire. It is not clear whether Lindisfarne owned all the land within these, which is unlikely, or whether these represented general limits or even recognised divisions of the area during the period.
As regards the first block, what does run "from the Lammermuirs thence to Eskmouth" is the Roman road from Lauderdale to the Forth and the boundary of East Lothian follows the same line very closely. The source associates these two blocks with the reign of Ecgfrith 670-85 which is unhistorical since the monastery of 'Tinningaham was not founded until after 756 (Cowan and Easson.1976.51) and it is claimed to have the second block pertaining to it. Craster is dubious about their authenticity (1954.178-9) but Hart is satisfied, "It is

difficult to regard these....as being other than authentic" (1975.137) as the general limits.

Under the paragraph concerning the moving of the see to the temporary site at Norham, the compiler refers to a grant by Bishop Ecgred of "Gedwearde et altera Gedwearde et quicquid ad eas pertinet". The first place is accepted as being Jedburgh on the Jed Water but the second has been variously identified with Jedworth beside the Teviot, another settlement on the other side of the Jed Water (RCAHMS.1956.210) and Old Jeddart which lies four miles upstream (Hart.1975.138). Craster has also identified the final phrase "quicquid ad eas pertinet" as a standard formula in Anglo-Saxon charters for "the fields, woods, pastures and stock attached to a vill" (1954.180.n4). It then goes into more detail, giving the limits as "from Duna" (Dunion Hill or Down Law) "to Tefgedmuthe" (the junction of the Rule or the Jed Water with the Teviot) "and from there to Wilton" (west of Hawick) "and thence to a hill further towards the south". The fact that the last hill is not named and there is disagreement among the authorities as to the identity of the first two features means that only the general outlines of this block are agreed on, between the Jed Water and Wilton and south of the Teviot. Even so, the later parish of Cavers seems to fit the general outlines, from the junction of the Rule Water and the Teviot to Dunion Hill to the watershed between the Slitrig and Liddle Waters and then to the Slitrig Water and up it,

over the Teviot to Ashkirk (Fig I.5). It is rather later than the former but could represent a survival of the tradition, the similarities between the two areas being so marked. The fact that St Cuthbert is specifically mentioned in the Anonymous Life as preaching by the "fluvium Tegesta" (V) could also be relevant.

In the Historia Regum which is also attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis, under the year 945, there is a very odd list of mansiones belonging to or claimed by Lindisfarne, where Coldingham is placed between Tyninghame and Tillmouth. It appears to be a somewhat rough list drawing on the Historia de S. Cuthberto and other sources, of twelfth century date, like the rest of the Historia Regum , which is related for some reason to Bishop Ecgred's grant which is considered above. Of these some like "Mailros.....et Tinningaham et Coldingham" are readily recognisable, while Abercorn is misspelt as Eoricorn . "Pefferham et Aldham" are two settlements near Tyninghame, the former being lost, The reason for their mention is not known since there is no evidence for their being especially important. Tighbrechingham has defied attempts to translate or locate it. Craster has suggested that these monasteries were in some kind of dependent relationship to Lindisfarne or "colonies" (1954. 179), a proposition with which Hart agrees (1975.137). The transplanted see might have drawn up the list , with the (short-lived) re-establishment of Northumbrian territory under the Wessex kings. It could even be conjectured that the

source was a list or a fragment of one, of the "Lands of St Cuthbert" which was made when the see was temporarily removed to Norham and which was found during the compilation of the Historia Regum .

While it would be natural for the monks to have compiled a list of their lands prior to their moving, the detail would partially have depended on what had survived the sack of 793. The compiler could also have drawn upon memories copies that had survived in other establishments which were accessible at the time of the compilation, though the evidence for this has yet to be found. There seems to be no reason to question Craster's dating of the compilation to the mid-tenth century or soon after. This would fit historically as has already been noted, at least as regards the initial draft. Like other secondary sources, it would appear to include some original material verbatim, like the Bolbenda grant, which is especially worthy of note.

There are some particular omissions like the lands that Oswald gave to Lindisfarne and Melrose on their foundation; these are not even mentioned and it is striking that the date of Melrose's foundation is not mentioned in the Opera at all. The Tweed-White Adder-Leader block could be a "totally traditional" memory of the lost Melrose grant, to use Craster's words. In spite of this rather patchy record, both Craster and Hart appear to be agreed on the general reliability of the details given, that they were of genuine 'estates', some remains of which survived.

This reliability is shown by Barrow's consideration of the Bowmont grant and the way that it appears to have influenced the distribution of the lands of the de Corbet and de Ros families (1973.32-5 Map 5). The fact that both Barrow and Kapelle have identified common factors between these land records and some later charters, like those that will be considered below, would appear to support the assumption of their general reliability. What would be most useful would be for a place-name authority to examine those recorded to date their types, if they are of the date given for the grant or a later re-recording of them.

3) The Early Scotto-Norman Charters

The principal use of these documents, of eleventh and twelfth century date, is to provide spellings of place-names relevant to this study. This is because few of these names are mentioned in the written sources which have been discussed in the previous part of this chapter. The dates of the later documents means that they do not provide as many details of the Tweed-Forth area in the Anglo-Saxon period as the surviving Anglo-Saxon documents do for more southern parts of England. There is no Scottish equivalent of the Domesday or any sort of comprehensive survey of the Tweed-Forth area before the development of Anglo-Norman settlement and influence. Most of the charters relevant to this study were drawn up in the twelfth century or later. Thus, these might contain information concerning territorial, or social arrangements of pre-Norman origin.

However, by the twelfth century there had been significant changes in the Tweed-Forth area since the end of the Anglo-Saxon occupation. Settlement-shift and desertion would have contributed to these. The disruption as a result of the warfare between the Scotto-Picts, Vikings, Northumbrians and southern Anglo-Saxons, must also be taken into account. If the relevant charters are to be properly used, it would be best to use an archaeological analogy, that of artefacts occurring in one context which might be relevant to earlier contexts since they seem to incorporate details known in dated early examples. There is no surviving comprehensive list of charters for a particular part

of the Tweed-Forth area. Disruption and destruction after the twelfth century has led to the loss of many charters. The opening words of the Inquisitio of the lands of the see of Glasgow, of 1118 (Lawrie L), refer to earlier documents, the decay of which made the drawing up of that document necessary. The collections of documents which are referred to in this section were of nineteenth century date. These were copies of copies which might not be totally faithful to the originals. Any information which might be given by these documents is often generalised or of little use to the archaeologist. Only occasionally is detailed information given concerning a feudal due or the cultivable land associated with a settlement.

As long as the information given is treated with care and these various limits of inference and use of the details are taken into account, these early charters can be useful, and can give certain broad hints as to arrangements during the Anglo-Saxon occupation of the area. Study and interpretation of these early charters is fairly well developed, due to the work of scholars like Barrow who has emphasised their use in understanding the development of territorial organisation in the area up to the twelfth century. There are also useful reference to settlements and churches or chapels, which can provide termini ante quem for their founding, though too much should not be made of details which could be due to the basic formula details used for writing such documents. Though this section is concerned with the details given in these charters, they will be used

in relation to other pieces of evidence in the relevant sections below.

The first charter, of Duncan II to Durham in 1094, refers to six 'vills', including Tyninghame, "Aldeham, Scuchale, Cnolle, Hatherwich...Broccesmuthe", which have been identified with Aldham, Scoughall, Knowes, Hedderwick and Broxmouth respectively (Fig 7.15). This list presents problems since it is hardly representative of the land "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" claimed in the Historia de S. Cuthberto as the land of the monastery. Moreover, the last "vill" lies on the opposite side of Dunbar and was not actually granted but, by the charter, "all the service which bishop Fothad had from there" was given to Durham. The reference to the estate being given "cum saca et soca" is most significant since it is the first mention of the term in association with a place in Scotland. It is understandable since Tyninghame had been the site of an Anglian monastery, with lands. What is really interesting is the fact that this term is not used in the charter given by Edgar in 1104. This charter has not received as much study as it deserves, in spite of Duncan's paper (1958). The reference to Bishop Fothad of St Andrews corresponds with the fact that King Duncan's grant was not followed up, and the church and lands of Tyninghame are recorded in the twelfth century as belonging to Kinrimont-St Andrews (Cowan.1967.303). The implication would appear to be that the latter gained some kind of power over the monastery and its lands at some date soon after the end of the Anglo-Saxon occupation, since "service" was owed to the see by 1094. Desertion of settlements

like the Pefferham mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 76) along with the development of the Earldom of Dunbar, might have led to changes in the lands associated with Tyninghame, by 1094. The matter of whether this grant was a restoration to Durham of the monastery and its lands on the basis of some lost record or whether it was a grant of land by Duncan from territory within the general vicinity of Tyninghame and Dunbar is difficult to resolve. It is possible that Duncan was granting some of the former lands of Tyninghame monastery or what survived of them. The document might indicate the lands of the same but it is best seen in relation to the other evidence relating to both Tyninghame and Dunbar during the period, in the eighth and seventh chapters below, respectively.

The second charter (Lawrie.XV), of Edgar to Durham, of 1095, has been interpreted as referring to possessions of the monastery of "Colodaesbyrig" and the possesions of what became Berwick-on-Tweed, the former consisting of twelve vills", the latter of twenty. The former group "Aldcambus Lummesdene Ristun Suinestun Farndun Eitun aliam Eitun Prenegest Crammesmude Haedyntun" can be identified with Aldcambus, Lumsdaine, Reston, Swinewood, Ferney, Ayton (now one settlement), Prenderguest, Burnmouth and Edington, including Coldingham itself and 'Ranyntun' or Renton which is mentioned in the other group, possibly in error. This twelve, with the exception of Edington, all lie within a land-block delineated by the gorge of the Pease Burn, an old road called Crach-oc,tre-strete which ran from Eye ford to the Billie Mire,

the Billie Mire itself and the watershed between the Eye and White Adder Waters (Fig I.8). The second group, "Greidene Leinhale Clilsterhale Bricgham Ederham Cirneside Hilton Blacedre Cynebrycham Hotun Ranynton Paxton Fulgeldene Morderintun Lambertun aliam Lambertun Hedryntun Fyscewyc Horford Vpsetyntun" can be identified with Milne Graden, Lennel, an unlocated place, Birgham, Edrom, Chirnside, Hilton, Blackadder, Kimmerghame, Hutton, Renton, Paxton, Foulden, Mordington, Lamberton (now one settlement as at Ayton), Edrington, Fishwick, Horford and Upsettlington. This group consists of thirteen "vills" on the west of the White Adder and eight on the east of it (Barrow 1973, 30 map 3) The "erroneous" inclusion of Renton resembles the "erroneous" inclusion of Edrington in the first group. This also resembles Barrow's identification of Colewela and Waquitun with places outwith the actual Bowmont valley around Yetholm, as noted above (p73). This is in the sense that these lie outwith the expected land-block and could show that the boundaries of these were far from rigid, which is only to be expected.

In contrast with the Tyninghame grant, the first group fits as an actual Anglian "shire which can be related to the very important monastery of Coldaesbyrig", as Barrow's plotting of the 'vills' shows (1973.31 map 4) (Fig I.8). The fact that the number of these was twelve, as with those in the Bowmont grant, is most significant. Kapelle accepts the twelve as a "shire" (1979.79), instead of it being possibly just a group of "vills" with some connection, as with Tyninghame and that grant. The fact that one

of these in the Coldingham group, Aldcambus, incorporates the Gaelic word for a bay (Watson.1926.138), and lies by a probable landing-place (p 47). This could indicate settlement by Gaelic speakers but does not prove a direct association with a Scotto-Pictish see like Kinnrimont-St Andrews. The charter of bishop Roger of St Andrews, of 1127, by which he freed the later, Durham-founded priory at Coldingham from a feudal duty (Lawrie LXXIII), was part of a long dispute between the two sees over the priory (Barlow.1950.117-44). The evidence is not proof that St Andrews had controlled Coldingham like Tyningham (p 418), though the possibility remains. That would explain Aldcambus as a landing-place and its being named as a vill of Coldingham.

The second group presents problems, not least since it lies on both sides of a river which is referred to in the Historia de S Cuthberto as a boundary and the centre of the estate is a place which literally means "outlying dependency", as Barrow has pointed out (1973.30). It could represent a late development by which two estates were amalgamated, the centres of which are not definitely known. Similarly, it might have been a decayed estate of more than twelve or thirteen vills. These all lie between the lands of Coldingham and the possible Early Christian site at Eccles and do not mention it or the other two possible former centres, Swinton and the Hirsel. Swinton is mentioned in another charter of Edgar, of 1100 (Lawrie.XX) in which he grants it to Durham "as Liulf son of

Edulf held it" and also gives twenty-four oxen or three plough-teams "for the restoration of the land", implying that a significant amount of the land in Swinton had become waste by this time. This could explain why the vills given all lie around Swinton but actually near it, unless Clilsterhale lies in such a position. The other evidence concerning Swinton and the Hirsel and the settlement, economy and religious remains there and in the vicinity, will be considered in the relevant chapters below. It is fortunate that something can be said with any degree of certainty about this estate, since it post-dates the "gap" period between the initial Scottish take-over and the twelfth century and might have some resemblance to an arrangement or arrangements during the pre-Scottish period. This "gap" is due both to the lack of evidence concerning the vicinity during the period and to study of it, so that the group is best considered in relation to this other evidence, below (pp 318-20).

Both of these groups of charters provide not only an important and early group of place-names and their spellings but also within the context of some estates. At least one of these lists of vills can be related to a known centre, for which there is other written as well as artefactual and structural evidence, namely Coldingham. This could provide an important context in which to study the place-names and their apparent formation, since it was either within an estate of possibly British origin, or was set up and then given as part of an estate by a noble or the ruler. This is a factor the list of vills shares with the Bowmont grant,

along with the number of listed settlements which seem to lie without the general topographically-imposed grouping of the rest of those named.

An important early use of the word burgo could mean a burgh or a fortification, when it is used for Berwick in one of the other early Scotto-Norman charters, the foundation-charter of the short-lived monastery at Selkirk, which was subsequently transferred to Kelso, which was given by the then Earl David in 1118 (Lawrie.XXV). This details the land given in the vicinity of Selkirk as well as various other vills and related land in the lower Tweed basin, and includes references to castles at both Selkirk and Peebles, which shows the very early date of their foundations. There is also a most interesting reference to the "dominio... de Melros" which could imply that the lands of the deserted Anglian monastery maintained their distinct identity and came under royal control. It could, however, equally mean that he, David, came to have power over some of the land in this arrangement. Unfortunately there are no other details of its extent or what powers or land he held. This is a common problem with estates or other landholdings of the period. The references to land associated with Middleham, Bothendene and Aeldonam, being Midlem, Bowden and Eildon respectively, are to the settlements and land but do not refer to churches. This could be significant since all three vills lie near to the site of the Anglian monastery. Their related parish boundaries, like those of St Boswells-Lessuden parish, do not respect either the Roman road of Dere Street or the native boundary

ditch known as the "Military Road". That both the road and the linear earthwork are mentioned in this charter as marking boundaries is significant since they could be indicative of the continuing importance of older boundary-markers. Only the Roman road has left any impact, being used as part of the boundary-lines of the parishes of Maxton, Roxburgh, Craling and Nisbet, Ancrum, Oxnam and Hownam, by the Tweed-and Teviot (Figs I.4,6). Even though the "Military Road" was probably of pre-Roman date (p 164), the reference to the boundary of lands being "along the ditch to where the branch falls into the Tweed" is a perfect description of a part of the boundary between the parishes of Melrose and Selkirk (Fig I.6), since the "Military Way" stops at Cauldshiels Loch, where the boundary does divide. It then follows a north-westerly direction to Faldonside Loch and by a stream which falls into the Tweed.

'The reference to Berwick is more detailed than stated above. What David grants is a carrucate of land "between the church and the Tweed" and a tithe from the mill of the "burgo", though it is not known which church is meant. This is because Cowan has identified three which existed by 1150, St Mary, St Lawrence and Holy Trinity (1967.15), which shows that Berwick was a very important place by 1118. There is also an important reference to Rokesburge which is also referred to as "burgo" with a mill (p.86) and where a maisura or "tenement" is also granted, along with various feudal dues to the place. This shows that both were

centres with established territories and dependent settlements to supply the various dues by 1118. The other reference is to Sprouston, which was the site of a major settlement of the Anglian period (pp 279-82).

The fact that only land is given could show that Sprouston had ceased to be a centre long before that date, though the reference to a maisura similar to the latter two places could be suggestive of some surviving importance or of different organisation to those of Eildon or Midlem. This will be more thoroughly discussed below.

The Inquisitio of the possessions of the see of Glasgow, under Earl David's authority, of 1119 (Lawrie.L) by itself is not strictly relevant but it includes several places in the area, referred to in two groups. The first is "Stoboc. Pentiacob. Alnecrumba. Treveronum. Lillescliva. Ashechyrc", being respectively Stobo, Eddleston in Peebleshire, Ancrum, a lost place, Lilliesleaf and Ashkirk, which lie by the Ale Water. These are simply listed as possessions, though "a carrucate (of land) and a church" are mentioned at Pobles, Treverquyrd and Mereboda", being Peebles, Traquair and Morebattle respectively. Lawrie has identified Treveronum" with "Tryorne", a lost settlement in the Leader valley (1903.303), though it could be Tronie Hill, near Minto (NT 579231) as Barrow has suggested (1973.291), which lies near the Ale Water, as do Ancrum, Lilliesleaf and Ashkirk. The Inquisitio is an important document, though there is no real evidence concerning how the named places became possess-

-ed by Glasgow. Though the places named lie far apart, they still might have formed an estate or pair of estates. As was noted at the beginning of this document, the information came from earlier, lost sources. Thus, details might have been lost which might have aided understanding of these arrangements. The fact that, with the exception of Morebattle, the other eight places lie either in the upper Tweed basin - Stobo, Eddleston, Peebles and Traquair - or in the vicinity of the Ale Water - Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, Ashkirk and possibly Tronie Hall - suggests that Glasgow's possessions were in parts outside Anglian estates. This is because neither of these pieces of land are mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto, and because place-names of early Anglian origin are not present there (Figs 3.3,4,5). This is not truly correct, since the names of Ashkirk and Lilliesleaf are of Anglian origin and 'Treveronum' just might lie in near the Leader, which would fit with what has been said with regard to certain 'vills" referred to in the previous charters which appear to lie away from the rest of those listed. Though there is the possibility that Glasgow came to have possession in estates based on these two pieces of land, more study and better evidence is needed before more can reliably concluded from the document. The fact that Morebattle, Traquair and Peebles had churches by this date is a fair indication of their importance by and possibly before that time, as Barrow has noted; both of the latter places had royal residences and possibly officials by the later twelfth century (1961.45-7).

The foundation charter of the Abbey of Holyrood of 1138 (Lawrie.CLIII) is of especial interest since it contains important details about the shire of Edinburgh and its related church of St Cuthbert. As Barrow has shown (1981.9) these earlier monasteries were established so as to be related to an important centre and its landholdings. This was the case with Selkirk, beside what later became a shire centre, or Cambuskenneth and the shire of Stirling, Kelso and the shire of Ednam and that of Roxburgh. The problem is that the foundation charters for the twelfth century nunneries have not survived with the exception of Coldstream. Other documents relating to the monastic establishments are either too late or too limited in detail to be useful to this study. Even so, the relatively early date of the foundation of these establishments and their siting in relation to places of possible importance in the Anglian period could be an indication of the development of the place by that period. Compared with other places, these were the suitable sites for monastic foundations.

The charter itself grants to Holyrood the "church of the castle" and its lands along with "Salectuna" or Saughton and "the church of St Cuthbert" with its parish and "Kyrche-tun" settlement with its land beneath the Castle, along with the chapels of St Cuthbert's church at Corstorphine and Liberton. The presence of a parochia at this early a date is most important and shows the development of Edinburgh and the church at St Cuthberts, with related chapels which lie on the old Roman roads, (p 335). The reference to "all

the tithes and duties of those living and dead at Legbernard (Leadburn near Penicuik) which Macbetber granted to the church" is interesting since it would appear to refer to a landowner at Liberton and his possessions outwith the latter place. As well as a saltpan, land and a church at Hereth or Airth in the shire of Stirling, which is in "my dominion", Broctunam or Broughton in present-day Edinburgh, "Inverleith which is near to the port...and with its own port and with the middle fishing and a tiend of all the fishings belonging to St Cuthbert's church", as listed. The reference to two "ports" is very important, since it provides further reasons for the importance of Edinburgh, as discussed in the previous chapter. Pittendreich near Lasswade, along with Hamere or Whitekirk in East Lothian and Fordam a lost site nearby, with a hospital are also granted, with parts of certain feudal dues to the king from Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, along with Perth and Renfrew and others. These dues include some owed to "Castello de Linlitcu" and "ten chalders of malt and eight of corn and thirteen 'carratas de busche'" from Liberton, which would appear to give some indication of the yields from the place that could leave these amounts as surplus. Also of considerable interest are references to a mill at this place, along with more than one at Dene or the Dean Village on the Waters of Leith and others pertaining to Edinburgh. Barrow has identified Craggenmarfe, which is referred to as having been divided, as Arthur's Seat, with the name meaning literally "hill of the dead" (1959.2).

The reasons for this division were probably to provide grazing and cultivation limits.

There are other charters which contain important details which are relevant to the study and not only in the texts. The witness list of the Holyrood charter has "Turstano de Crectun" or Thurstan of Crichton, which would appear to show the presence of an important landowner at this place. The site of Crichton (Fig I.13) is of interest since it lies among a grouping of native settlements; it will be discussed in the third and fourth chapters. In the charter of Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, of 1127 which was drawn up at Roxburgh, in the witness list are five priests of "Litun...Aldeham stoc...Leinhale...Edenham...Lidgareswood", which have been located by Lawrie (1905.323) at Ayton on the Eye Water, Oldhamstocks on the Dunglass Burn, Lennel and Ednam on the Tweed and Ledgerwood by the Leader. This provides some "termini ante quem" for churches at these places, as do the documents relating to the re-population of "deserted Ednam" by Thor Longus in 1105 (Lawrie.XXIV, XXXIII), which also refers to the dedication of a church to St Cuthbert. The reference to "deserta" would seem to fit with the Swinton charter of 1100 (Lawrie.XX) and its granting of three plough-teams "for the restoration of the land", and with the evidence for deserted territorys and abandoned land in the Merse, in what had become border land by the tenth century.

The problem of developments between the later ninth century and the date of these documents is best summed up in the cases of the burghs at Edinburgh, Berwick-on-Tweed and Roxburgh. As the documents discussed in the chapter show, they were very important by the early twelfth century. They are not, however, mentioned in any documents of the Anglian period, and there is no evidence to show directly when Berwick became the centre of an estate instead of an "outlying dependency" of one. Alexander I appears to have founded the "soke" of Stirling and the castle there, but their relationship to earlier arrangements and sites is not known (Barrow.1973.38); nor is it certain whether the "soke" already existed or had been created by that time. David I and the Earl of Dunbar might address "the faithful thanes and drengs of Lothian and Teviotdale" in 1117 (Lawrie.XXX), though this only shows that they existed by that time: it does not necessarily mean that they existed during the time of Anglian Northumbria, in the seventh or eighth centuries. Because the churches of Mow on the Bowmont Water and Old Roxburgh on the Teviot were granted "with chapels and parishes" in the twelfth century, this does not necessarily mean that they were highly developed by that period, as Cowan and Easson have suggested (1976.51); the term could simply be part of the general formula of charters granting churches of some importance which was used during the period (G W S Barrow.Pers.Comm.1983).

In short, these documents provide information which is most useful to a study of the probable origins of arrange-

ments which existed by the Scotto-Norman period. The relationship of these with the arrangements of the Anglian occupation could be compared to the relationship between the landholdings mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto and the arrangements of the British period. The earldom of Dunbar and March, which was established by Malcolm III in around 1072, according to Simeon Dunelmensis (Anderson A O 1908.96), might have been based on the residence and possibly related territory of the Anglian praefectus, who was mentioned in the Life of St Wilfrid (p 68).

This does not necessarily mean that all the possessions, lands or arrangements of the praefectus were maintained as they were in the Anglian period. The broad outlines of these probably persisted, principally through the memories of the inhabitants of the vills. All the estates or arrangements which have been considered in the course of this section could be associated with some place of importance in the Anglian period. This is no coincidence and is valid, if not definitely proven, evidence for the persistence of the broad outlines of territorial arrangements of the Anglian period or even earlier. These possible estates are also best considered in relation to other, more reliable, pieces of evidence, as will be done in later chapters of this study.

PLACE-NAMES

1) Brittonic

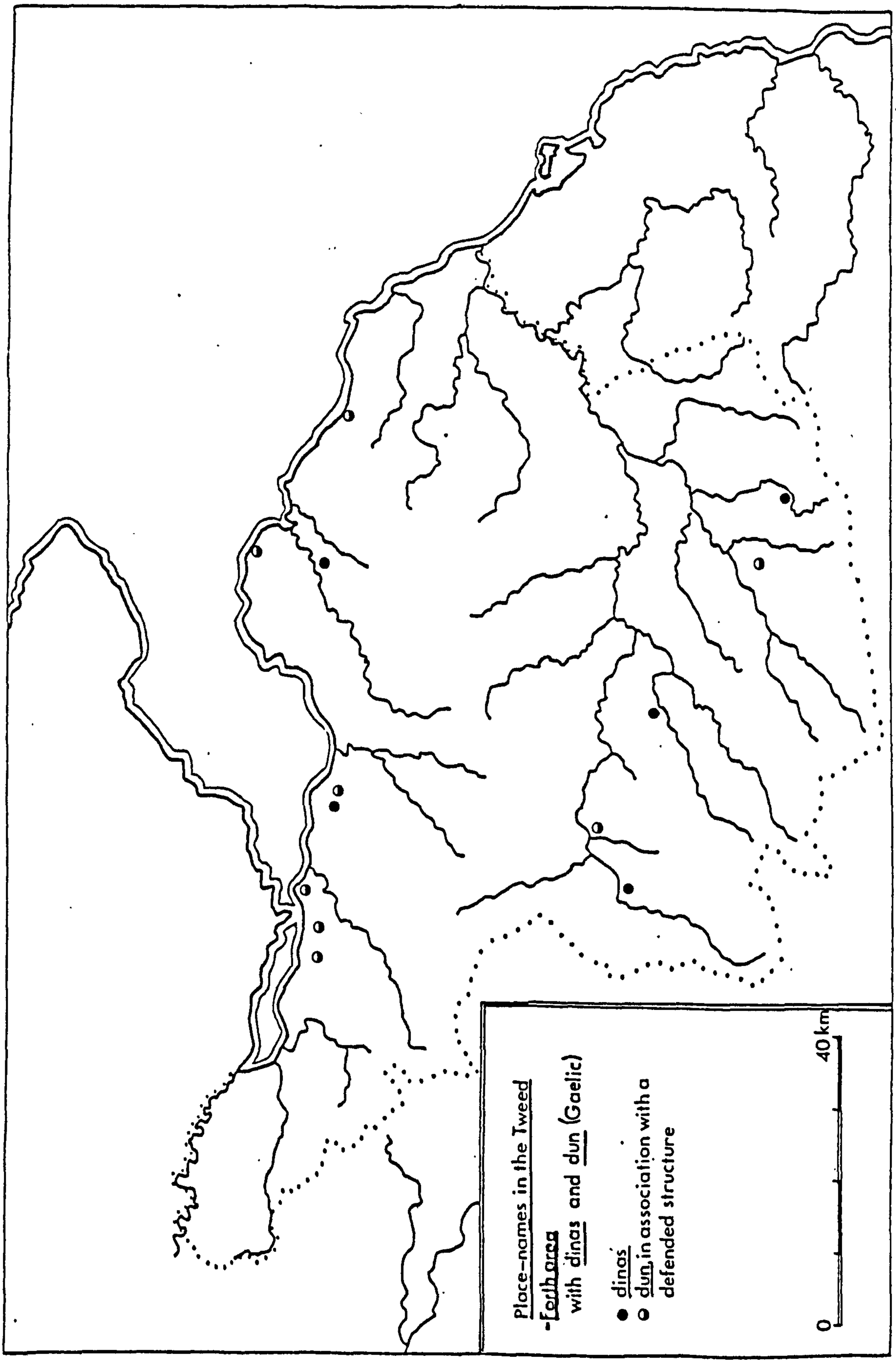
There are significant problems in the use of place-names and limitations on what can be made of them, particularly since the dating of the formation of examples can rarely be made more precisely_ than to a certain period of time. The problems can be alleviated by artefact or written evidence, though place-names are essentially linguistic artefacts and do not always correspond to the political or artefactual situation in a topographic area at a particular time. These problems are particularly evident with the place-names of Brittonic or Old Welsh origin, since most of the examples which are relevant to this study have their earliest identified spellings in documents of twelfth century or later date. This means that they are, if an archaeological metaphor could be used, unstratified artefacts. This is further compounded by the fact that place-names of Brittonic origin, in this part of North England, have not been as comprehensively or thoroughly studied as those of Old English origin, especially for their use in the study of Britain in early Medieval times. Jackson's major study of the Language and History in Early Britain (1953), along with Watson's work on The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (1926) and Nicolaisen's general survey of The Place-Names of Scotland (1976) have not been followed up by specific studies

of the place-names of particular counties. Dixon's study of the place-names of Mid Lothian is most thorough and an exemplary example of what can be achieved, though it was completed in 1947 and there has been no other study of all the place-names of a county, in the area, at a later date and taking into account recent developments in place-name studies.

There is no Scottish equivalent of the English Place-Names Society and the Dictionary of Scottish Place-Names proposed by Nicolaisen has never been completed. There is also the fact that the Brittonic language did not cease to be spoken when the Angles took over the Tweed-Forth area in the mid-seventh century Jackson has pointed out that distinctively Brittonic place-names were being formed in Cumbria in the twelfth century (1963a.81-83). Thus, it is possible that they were being formed in the Tweed-Forth area at any time up to the same general date. As Jackson has also remarked, "Names of settlements imply the continued existence of that settlement and when that name is British, the continued existence of a general community of Britons" (1963a.73). This is less reliable for place-names which refer to a natural or topographic feature, which could have been adopted by the Angles: Nicolaisen has shown that the element pren , which is Brittonic for "tree", survived to be included in place-names in the lower Tweed basin, where place-names of Old English origin are particularly dense (Nicolaisen.1976. 165-6). The existence of these does not necessarily imply

Brittonic cultural survival in the related settlements, nor does it date these or when they lost their cultural difference, compared to the Angles. The presence of these place-names which have both Brittonic and Old English linguistic elements, like Halltree by the Gala Water (Fig I.7) which has the Old English halr and the Brittonic tref , for "a slope" and 'a settlement' respectively (Dixon.1947.284), does not imply good Anglo-British relations in the vicinity or date them, if they existed, to any particular time.

The matter of the adoption of place-names is particularly significant with one certain group of place-names, those which incorporate the element din or dinas , which meant a fortified settlement or residence of an important person (Watson.1926.372)(Fig 3.1). The example of Din Eidyn , occurs in the Gododdin poem, which is partly datable to the early seventh century and thus belongs to the pre-Anglian period (Jackson, 1969, 78, 105). There is no doubt that the place was a predecessor of Edinburgh Castle and Jackson has shown that Edinburgh itself was a direct Old English translation of the Brittonic Din Eidyn (1959). Watson has identified four other probable examples of the element in the Tweed-Forth area, Tinnis by the Jed Water, Tinnis by the Yarrow Water, Tinnis Castle by the upper Tweed, and Cairndinnis in East Lothian (1926.372). There is no supporting evidence for locating a settlement which was occupied in the early Medieval period at either Tinnis in the Yarrow

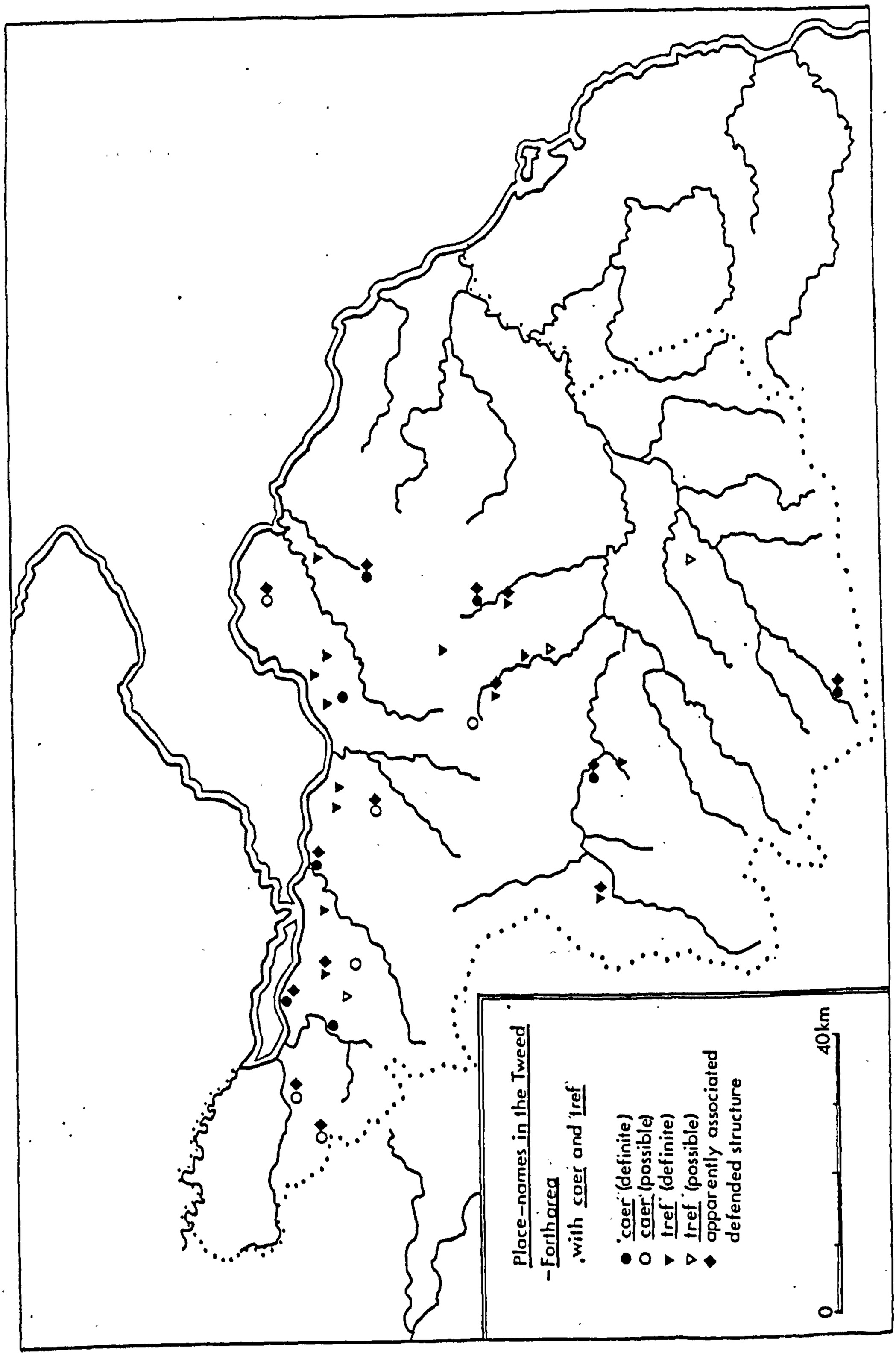

Place-names in the Tweed
-Forthcrag
with dinas and dun (Gaelic)
● dinas
○ dun, in association with a
defended structure
40 km
0

valley or by the Jed, though the former example is near to the long-cist cemetery at Yarrow and by several important routes from the Yarrow to the upper Tweed. There is a defended settlement at Tinnis Castle near Stobo, which was the site of a later Medieval castle (RCAHMS.1967.142-3, 272-3), though this only implies occupation or importance in early Medieval times. The example of Cairndinnis lies beside the large defended settlement on Traprain Law, which has been traditionally identified with the Din Pender which was mentioned in the late Life of St Kentigern (Jackson.1958.293). Though the hill is marked "Dunpenderlaw" on some eighteenth century maps, the traditional identification has not been traced back to the pre-Norman period and the name could have arisen as a result of the development of the cult of St Kentigern in the twelfth century or later. The major settlement on Traprain Law has been neither fully excavated nor fully understood and this late identification does not provide definite proof of the original place-name.

The name Dunbar, which is spelt Dynbaer in the Life of St Wilfrid (p 68), has been interpreted by Jackson as being completely Brittonic (1953. 320) even though it was occupied by a praefectus of the Northumbrian king, at the time. It is another example of din, being din barr, or 'the defended structure on the height', as Jackson noted in the same reference. The first spelling of Tantallon Castle,

in East Lothian is on a map "drawn up before 1300" as "Dentaloun" (RCAHMS.1924.65) and there is thus a possibility that the name contains the element din . Since the Tweed-Forth area was taken over by the Gaelic-speaking Scots, in the tenth century and later, there is a possibility that the Brittonic din was changed to the Gaelic dun and the place-names which incorporate the latter element were settlements which were occupied up to or in the later part of the pre-Norman period. There is no written evidence which might allow possible examples of the use of the Old English dun , for 'a hill', to be identified, such as at Duns in Berwickshire. The isolated example of Dunglass in Berwickshire could be related to the now demolished defended settlement of "Castle Dykes" (RCAHMS.1915.29) while Duntarvie, near Abercorn, Dundas and Dalmeny (Dunmanyn in 1250), in West Lothian (Watson. 1926.147,104), could relate to the defended settlements nearby (Fig I.16). This is not reliable evidence for settlement in the early Medieval period, since the place-name could have come from some lost site and is only near a particular settlement because they lay within the same small land-block. The place-name could have been applied at some later Medieval date and could thus have no information on settlement in the early Medieval period.

The comparative lack of study of place-names of Brittonic origin, in recent years, is compounded by the lack of dating, even a general terminus post quem or terminus ante quem for examples. This can mean that place-names


Place-names in the Tweed
-Fortharead
with coer and tref
● 'coer' (definite)
○ coer' (possible)
▼ tref' (definite)
▽ tref' (possible)
◆ apparently associated defended structure
0
40km

which refer to settlements could have been formed at any time between the fifth and twelfth centuries, or later. This is very much the case with those place-names which incorporate the element tref , which is Brittonic for 'a settlement' (Watson.1926.357-65 Nicolaisen.1976.160 , 166-70)(Fig 3.2). The fact that the element occurs in place-names with Gaelic elements, in Scotland north of the Forth, as Nicolaisen has noted (1976.168) and with Old English, as at Halltree by the Gala Water (p 97), shows that the element was in use until the ninth century at least. Since it simply means a settlement, the simple occurrence does not imply any special importance, as with Trabroun in the upper Leader valley or at Niddry near Edinburgh. The importance of Traquair in Peeblesshire was due to its lying by the major route over Minch Moor, where the route along the Tweed valley avoids the narrow gorge of the Tweed between Ashietrees and the Walkerburn (Fig 1.3). Dreva in Peeblesshire lies beside an important group of late prehistoric settlement remains by the upper Tweed (RCAHMS.1967.111-4) and Ochiltree in West Lothian lies beside a defended settlement at Peace Knowe (NT 030741). There is no definite evidence to connect the place-name with the earlier settlement or prove occupation of the latter in early Medieval times. Their distribution in the Tweed-Forth area, though widespread, is noticeably absent in the lower Tweed basin and the eastern Lothians, where settlement by Old English speakers was most pronounced, with the exception of Traprain in

East Lothian (Figs I.9, 10). This could show that the distribution is of examples originating during or after the Anglian occupation and not necessarily surviving from before it.

Barrow has suggested that the Brittonic element caer , for an enclosed or fortified settlement, like the Gaelic equivalent cather, had its origins in a system, or series of arrange-ments, which developed into the medieval shire. (1973.65-6). Nicolaisen has noted that the use seems to be limited to south of the Forth-Clyde territorial division, with the exceptions of Carpow and Crail in Fife (1976.161), which could imply local linguistic variations at one time or differing depths of research on place-names in different parts of what is now Scotland. Most of the examples of caer -element place-names occur near defended settlements which could have been occupied in early Medieval times like Carfrae by the Leader, which lies below the defended settlement of Hillhouse (NT 505553 RCAHMS.1915.13). The distribution of examples (Fig 3.2), is most interesting since there seems to be a regular spacing of around ten miles between possible examples, from Kirkintilloch in the west (Carpentaloch according to Watson.1926.369) to Carfrae in Berwickshire. This could be coincidental since not all the possible examples are agreed by the authorities; Carlowrie near Dalmeny, Carmenden near Livingston and Carketton near Edinburgh cannot be traced in any early documents. Carcant near Heriot and the Gala valley, along with Carlaverock near Tranent in East Lothian, (Figs I.7, 9), lie near possible land-

blocks which existed by the early Medieval period, though they are not recorded in any documents as centres or places of importance. They might represent former centres or places of importance which were superseded by the places which became the centres of the later parishes. Cramond on the Almond river, Carriden in West Lothian and Carmuirs near Falkirk all lie on the sites of Roman forts and could represent the continuing or revived economic importance of the native settlements or the derivation of the name from the remaining defences (Watson.1926.369-70). A non-defensive stone-walled settlement near Sourhope, in the Bowmont basin is known as The Gair (RCAHMS.1956.339) and a field near Dirleton in East Lothian, called Kilmurdie, which is referred to as Karmurdac in some documents related to the de Vesci family, in the Cartulary of Lanercost Priory (G W S Barrow Pers.Comm.1984), could be two other examples. Aerial photography has shown a multivallate enclosure at the field of Kilmurdie (RCAHMS.EL/2948/9) though it remains to be excavated and have the occupation dated.

The fact that the probable examples all lie singly in certain parishes, such as Cardrona in Traquair parish, Carlaverock in Tranent parish, Carfrae in the upper Leader basin and Carlavrick in the upper Teviot basin, on the opposite side of the "Catrail" linear earthwork from the recorded land-block around Cavers (p 75), could imply that these place-names referred to the residences of chiefs or local centres. Their distribution, as shown on (Fig 3.2), is exclusive of the parts

of the area with few place-names of Old English origin and could imply that these place-names reflect the arrangements which developed during the time of the Anglian occupation of the Tweed-Forth area. This is another basic problem with this unsupported place-name evidence, that it reflects arrangements which were superseded by others at times before the twelfth century. The need for supporting evidence is obvious though it would be very easy to assemble the various possibilities into a credible if poorly substantiated reconstruction.

Place-names which contain the element eglwys are of special interest since this element is derived from the Latin ecclesia and thus seems to refer to early Christianity. The term also occurs in Gaelic, eglas, so that some of the possible examples could date to the time of the Scottish takeover of the Tweed-Forth area and not to the pre-Anglian period. Thomas' recent study of examples in Britain as a whole led him to the conclusion that they were probably formed in the sub-Roman period, implying the presence of either a community of Christians settled there or that the spot was a meeting-place for religious activities (Thomas.1980.262-5). He did not feel that it implied the presence of a church building, not least since ecclesia literally meant 'Christian community' and the idea of a building having such a name is post-Roman. He also commented on the lack of supporting archaeological evidence in all known examples for Early Christian activity; "there is a strong hint of antiquity,

if nothing else" (1980.264). Barrow has identified seven possible examples in the Tweed-Forth area, in a study of all possible examples in what is now Scotland and has proposed that these originated as places related to early estates or landholdings and communities over a wide area (1973.53-64)(1983)(Fig 4.4).

Thomas did not include the area north of the Forth and does not accept two of the examples cited by Barrow; Terreagles near Penicuik, on the South Esk and Eaglescarnie, south of Haddington, near Bolton. The former has been shown to derive from the Gaelic recles for a hermit's cell (Dixon.1947.269) and the earliest known reference to the latter is of 1507, as Egliscranno (Barrow.1973.35)(Fig I.13) which is rather late. The "Eccles Cairn" near Yetholm is only recorded as late as an eighteenth century map (Barrow.1985.Pers.Comm). None of the examples have been identified on a source earlier than the twelfth century, which neither proves nor disproves their authenticity. The Gaelic element eglas could lie at the basis of the former names of Falkirk and St Ninians, Eagles Breac (Nicolaisen.1976.7-16) and Egglis Ninian (Cowan.1967.124) respectively, though they could equally represent Gaelic pronunciation of the Brittonic eglwys. With Eccles in Berwickshire and Ecclesmachan in West Lothian, this does not seem to be the case. Tne former lay to the south of the Lammermuirs, more open to Old English linguistic influence, while the latter lay to the west of Edinburgh and could have been less open to this

influence. It is possible that the six probable examples, if Terreagles is excluded, had similar origins, as the meeting-places of several, related communities, for Christian religious activity. This can be seen in the fact that the "Eccles Cairn" is situated on flat land, by an old route which is a perfect meeting-place, on the watershed between the valleys of the Bowmont and College Waters. St Ninians and Falkirk both lie beside the main Roman road to the north (Fig I.17) and Eaglescarnie on the route between Leader valley and Haddington (Fig I.13). Ecclesmachan lies between the routes between Edinburgh and Falkirk and Edinburgh and Glasgow (Figs I.16, 17) and Eccles could be related to the land-block within the Tweed, Leader and White Adder rivers which is mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto as being given to the church during the time of the Anglo-Saxon occupation (p 74). The distribution of the six probable examples (Fig 4.4) implies some kind of relationship with the pre-Anglian landholding arrangements. Just as Eccles could be related to the land-block with the Tweed, Leader and White Adder rivers, Ecclesmachan could be related to the possible land-block between the Almond and Avon rivers, Falkirk to the possible land-block between the Avon and Carron and St Ninians to the possible land-block between the Carron and Forth rivers. This series of assumptions, that these place-names were related to these respective parts of the Tweed-Forth area, remains to be proven.

Ecclesmachan lies on a tributary of the Almond river and could thus be associated with communities based on the river basin, rather than between the Almond and the Avon.

The lack of any evidence for examples of eglwys - element place-names in the upper Tweed and Teviot basins or in the land between the Esk and Almond rivers, could be as much due to differences in local territorial arrangements and changes of place-names, as to a lack of pre-Anglian Christian activity. The literal meaning of Peebles, which lies at the junction of the Eddleston Water and the Tweed, is '(place of) the tents (or pavilions)' (Nicolaisen.1976.172). This is intriguingly reminiscent of the actions of the inhabitants of regio Ahse , when Cuthbert was preaching there, according to both of the Lives (p 63). Since they "put up tents for him while for themselves they made huts of felled branches as best they could", the implication is that these actions were standard practice at an established meeting-place. Peebles is well situated at the junction of various natural routes (Fig I.3, pp 213-214) and the literal meaning of the name could have arisen from this practice.

Jackson has devoted some space to the names of various parts of the Tweed-Forth area, which seem to be of Brittonic origin. One of these is Manau , which is referred to in the Historia Brittonum (p 49), which he has identified as being incorporated in Slamannan in Stirling-

shire and Clackmannan, but not in Dalmeny in West Lothian or Romanno in Peeblesshire (1969.71-5). The implication would seem to be that Manau lay on both sides of the Forth, possibly stretching from the Ochils in the north as far south as the Avon river on the south. This apparently contradicts the traditional idea of the Forth river as a barrier of some kind and the reference to Manau Gododdin in the Historia Brittonum , implies some kind of connection between this kingdom and the larger territory.

The "Niduarian" Picts have been tentatively identified with the land around Giudi , which could have been the predecessor of Stirling Castle (pp 59-60). Duncan has identified them with the natives of the land around Newburn in Fife (NO 4604) which lies beside Largo Bay and is recorded as Nithbren in the early twelfth century (Duncan.1975.75). There has been no study of this matter of identification by an authority on Celtic languages in the early Medieval period and until there has been such, the location is indefinite.

Watson has also commented on the element Eden which appears to occur in, Carriden in West Lothian, Din Eidyn or Edinburgh, Eden's Hall on the Adder in Berwickshire and Duneden which was near Bluecairn by the Leader Water (NT 533419)(1926.341). The implications of these, according to Watson, are of some kind of ownership arrangement, connecting these places, though he admits to the lack of early, pre-twelfth century evidence

to use. His identification of the Mynydd Eidyn which is mentioned in the Gododdin poem, with the Braid Hills near Edinburgh (1926.341), is difficult to accept. A far more likely candidate for this name would be the Arthur's Seat massif with the two enclosures of 2.6 hectares each, as well as other constructions of probably Prehistoric date on it (Fig I.14). It also lies closer to Din Eidyn than the Braid Hills and would have been a suitable site for tribal meetings or religious activities. The Mynydd Eidyn could also possibly be responsible for the intriguing name, or title, of the host mentioned in the Gododdin poem, Mynyddog Mwynfawr. Jackson has not pointed out any similarity between Mynyddog and Bannog, the latter being mentioned in the poem, referring to the Fintry Hills near Stirling, where the Bannock Burn originates (1969.75-6). Following on a tenuous line of assumption, it could be concluded that Mynyddog was a title of some kind, possibly deriving from the use of the Mynydd Eidyn as the local meeting-place, but this is mostly speculation without linguistic support.

The actual name of Lothian is not really understood because neither the origins nor the literal meaning of the word are known. The earliest known reference to it is in the grant of Leudonia or Lothian to Kenneth II of Scotland, by Edgar of Wessex, at Chester, in 972, according to the Historia Regum attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis (Anderson.A O 1908, 77). Apart from the Lothian Burn, a minor stream which marks the boundary between the parishes of Hailes or

Colinton and Lasswade in the Pentland Hills and the curiously isolated chapel of Mount Lothian, which was given to the Abbey of Holyrood in 1176 by William the Lion as Monte Ladonie (Fig 7.9)(Barrow 1971,162, no.61) use the element in the whole Tweed-Forth area. This is difficult to understand since Barrow has shown that Lothian , in Medieval times, was the entire area of land between the Avon and Tweed watercourses (1973.150).

This discussion makes very clear the ease with which plausible models can be constructed for aspects of the Tweed-Forth area and its natives in the pre-Anglian period. The distribution of the possible examples of the caer -element (Fig 3.2) and the discussion above (p 105) show this particularly well. It would be pointless to attempt to consider the eglwys -element place-names without considering them with the other pieces of evidence for pre-Anglian Christianity in the Tweed-Forth area (Fig 4.4, pp 210-212). Since the Brittonic language in the area seems to have survived the Anglian takeover, and possibly had developed local dialects by the twelfth century, when the earliest recorded examples are known, some of the place-names could have been established or so named at a date later than the pre-Anglian period. In the Gala valley Dixon has identified the place-name Carthow , which, though not located, seems to incorporate the Brittonic caer and the Gaelic rath (1947.289) and could thus imply that Brittonic place-names were being formed in the ninth century

or later. It is similarly tempting to associate the tref -element place-names with estates since the individual settlements in early medieval Welsh landholdings were referred to as trefi (Davies.1982.43-4). This is in the absence of records of possible examples of such as the vills of early Medieval landholdings: Tartraven in West Lothian could incorporate the element tref (Macdonald.1941.62) and was a chapel of the church of St Michael at Linlithgow (Cowan.1967.134). This is not definite proof of Tartraven being a tref of Linlithgow, all it does is imply that it might have been so. The element llan , for an enclosure, is present in the place-names Pentland in Mid Lothian (Dixon.1947.227) and Pencaitland in East Lothian (Watson.1926.381), though there is no evidence of its implying religious uses, as in the Welsh examples of llan , which refer to early Christian sites.

At the very least, these place-names prove surviving Brittonic language and possibly related culture in parts of the Tweed-Forth area, during and possibly after the Anglian takeover of the area. The literal origin of Drumbryden near Edinburgh could be the Gaelic Druim Brettan or , Ridge of the Britons,(Dixon.1947.50) (Fig I.14) implying a distinctive British presence in the vicinity when the Gaelic-speaking Scots arrived, in the ninth century. It might be more reliable if there was a record of the place-name which dated to before 1773. Better dating for the relevant place-names and

some artefactual or structural evidence is needed to support any conclusions which might be made on the basis of place-name evidence, otherwise there are only these possibilities. The fact that there are no distinctively British personal names in the witness-lists of the early Scotto-Norman charters of the twelfth century and later, would seem to imply that by that period, the chiefs and aristocrats were, to most intents and purposes, "Anglicised". The Brittonic linguistic survivals could be due to the rest of the population, among whom Anglian influence would have been less pronounced, in the western parts of the area or in the valleys of the Gala Water and other rivers. Any study of place-names of Brittonic origin has to look through an overlay of Anglian and Gaelic influence, which would have varied in thickness in the different parts of the area.

2) Old English or Anglian

As the Tweed-Forth area was part of England during the early Medieval period, Some of the place-names were a product of the Anglian kingdon of Northumbria, namely of the settlers who spoke Old English. Study of English place-names is fairly advanced, as a result of work by the English Place-Names Society, with separate studies of most of the English counties. These do not include Northumberland or Durham, so comparative studies of the Tweed-Forth area are not really available. Nicolaisen's work on the place-names of Scotland as a whole would appear to make up for the fact that the only study of the place-names of Northumberland was by Mawer in 1920. Examples of place-names of Old English origin occur in almost contemporary written sources, such as the Historia de S. Cuthberto , which makes the place-names less unstratified than those of Brittonic origin.

The state of study of place-names of Old English origin is such that doubts have been expressed concerning the relationship between the earliest remains of the Angles and Saxons and the earliest kinds of place-name. It was thought that those place-names which contained the element -ingas or -ingaham , or an archaic personal name or word, or referred to settlement rather than a natural feature, were the earliest. As Gelling has written, "None of these assumptions about the earliest types of English place-names has emerged unscathed from the critical scrutiny of the last fifteen years" (1978.107).

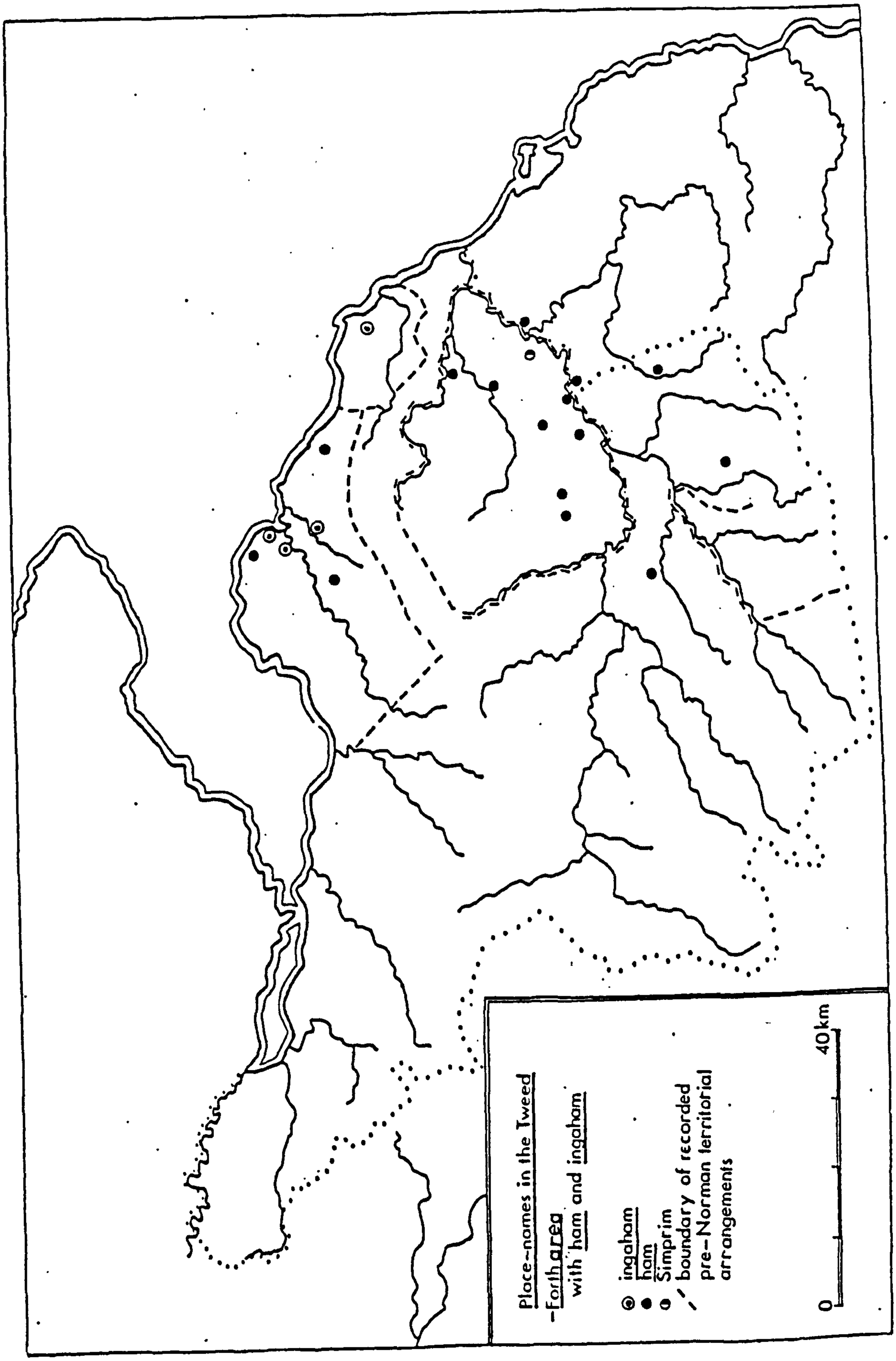
The paper by J McN Dodgson, "The significance of the distribution of English place-names in -ingas , -inga- in south-east England" (1966), with its detailed distribution-maps, proposed that the -ingas and -ingaham - element place-names represented secondary colonisation from centres corresponding to the location of the early burials. The paper by B Cox, "The significance of the distribution of English place-names in ham in the Midlands and East Anglia".(1973), proposed that names containing ham were earlier than those containing -ingas or -ingaham .

As the titles of the papers referred to make clear, these conclusions concern east England and the Midlands, where datable artefacts of Anglo-Saxon origin and settlement-remains are more plentiful and available for study, than in the Tweed-Forth area. It might be an exaggeration to claim that the examples of place-names of Anglian origin in the Tweed-Forth area bear no significant comparison with those from eastern England. However, the fact is that very few of the examples can be connected to datable remains of Anglian origin and there is no evidence for Anglian settlement in the Tweed-Forth area before the middle of the sixth century AD. In spite of the work which has been done on the place-names of Anglian origin by Williamson (1942) and Nicolaisen (1976), this has not been accompanied with thorough study of Anglian settlement in the Tweed-Forth area and its relationship with the linguistic evidence. There has been no study of

the place-names of East Lothian, which represents a major problem for this study. In short, it is questionable just how much of what has been concluded from place-name studies can be applied to settlement.

There are other problems which must be taken into account, such as the fact that place-names with the element *tun* were being formed as late as the seventeenth century (Nicolaisen.1976.23). There is also the question of when the elements which were incorporated into certain relevant place-names were superseded, when a *terminus ante quem* can be referred to for the formation of some of the examples. Settlement by Angles or speakers of Old English, need not have corresponded with the extent of Northumbrian power, especially if there were significant stretches of open, unoccupied land. Some Anglian settlement could have been infilling , while some could have represented occupation of British settlements. The positions of Anglian settlers within British communities could have varied, depending on whether the former were lords of the community or merely settlers. Their positions within the communities would have changed with the passage of time and the fluctuations of Northumbrian power. The work by Williamson (1942) and Nicolaisen (1976) has done little to aid understanding, not least since the place-names referring to natural or topographic features are not so well understood. The fact that some of the *ham* -element place-names have become parish-centres, such as Edrom in Berwickshire and Morham in East Lothian, while some like

Figure 3.3


Place-names in the Tweed
-Forth area
with ham and ingaham
ingaham
ham
Simprim
boundary of recorded
pre-Norman territorial
arrangements
0
40km

Birgham and Wrangham in Berwickshire did not, could be as much due to later Medieval developments as to their initial positions. The question must be asked, in the absence of datable evidence and excavated remains which could be used in their interpretation, whether these place-names of Old English origin are of any real use to this study.

While it is obviously wrong to assume that all the examples of place-names incorporating a particular element represented a distinct phase of Anglian settlement, the distribution-maps (Figs 3.3-7) do seem to indicate some details. One of these is the scattered distribution of most of the place-names which refer to settlement, such as those containing the element ham (Fig 3.3). These occur throughout the Tweed-Forth area and as far west as the oddly isolated example of Eaglesham (Egilsham in 1158) in Renfrewshire and could represent infilling by Anglian settlers over a period up to 685. The reason for this date is that Anglian influence and power west of Edinburgh can only be related to two periods, the expansion of North-umbrian power by Oswald and his immediate successors in the mid-seventh century and the later part of the reign of Eadberht (734-69), when the Kyle around Ayr was added to North-umbria, according to the Continuatio of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, for 750 AD (Colgrave and Mynors.1969.575). The grant of Oswiu of land around the Bowmont to the church, recorded in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (pp72-3) would seem to give an example of Yetholm as a ham-element place-name in a land-unit. It could also possibly imply

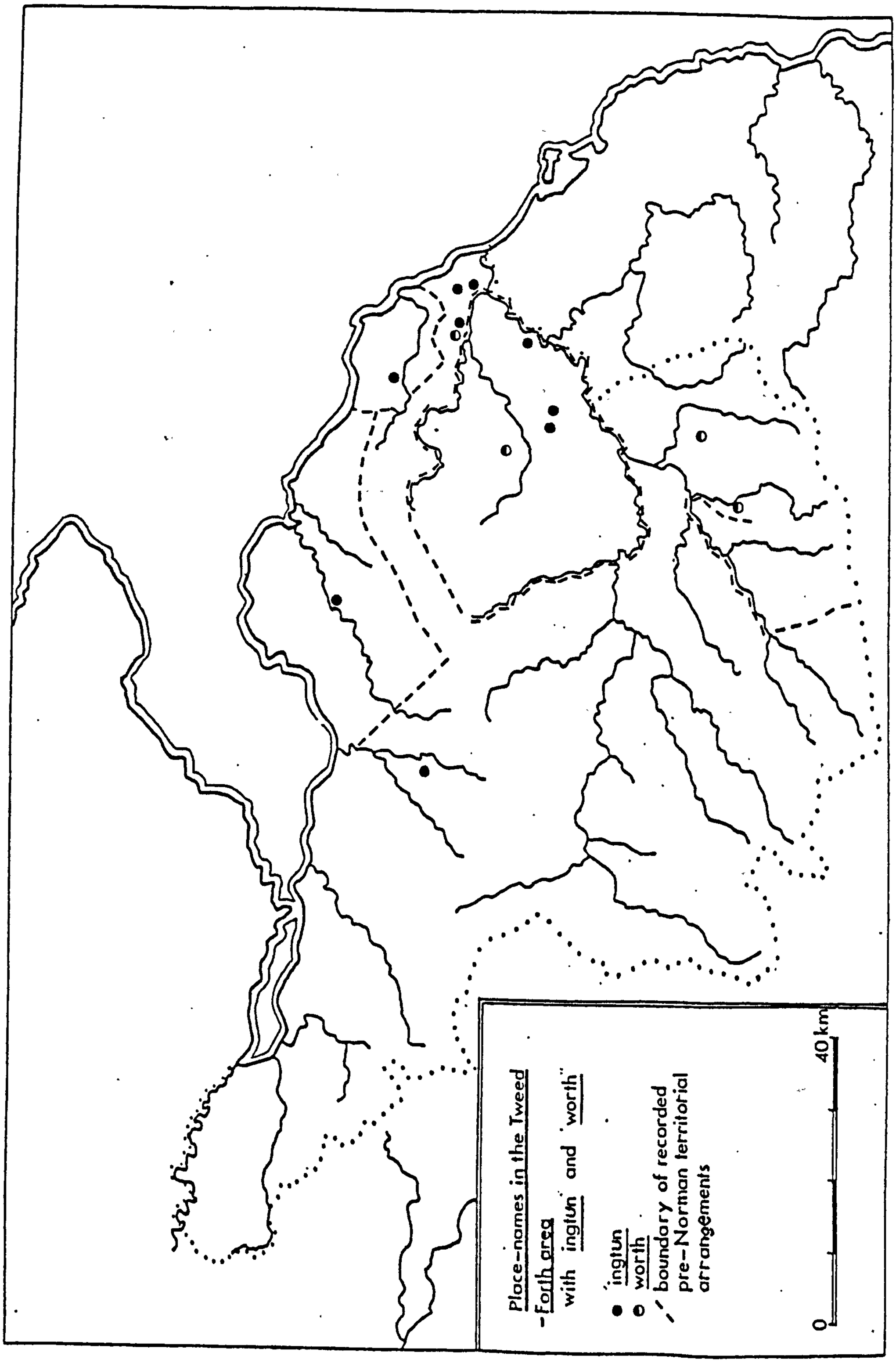
that this settlement was set up at a date before the grant of around 655 AD. The document does not make clear the position of Yetholm or Gatham , within this land-block. The mention of it as the first name in the list of twelve vills could imply rather than prove that it was the centre since this is the case with the other lists of vills , mentioned in the Scotto-Norman charters (p§3) such as Berwickshire.

These other documents could provide structures of estates, within which place-names could be studied, if it could be proven that the recorded arrangements related to the pre-Scottish period. Leitholm and Birgham were chapels of the twelfth century convent of Eccles in Berwickshire (Cowan.1967.58), along with Mersington. This does not necessarily imply that they originated as settlements in land related to a major settlement at Eccles. The documents relating to the establishment of the convent have not survived, so the possibility is that these ham -element place-names and settlements could have been initially set up without any connection with Eccles at all. It is interesting to note, however, that most of the ham -element place-names occur within the two major land-blocks mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto ; the Tweed-Leader-White Adder and "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" blocks (Fig 3.3). The exceptions, Oxnam and Midlem, both lie in locations implying 'infilling' of open land, on the watershed between the Kale and Jed Waters and between the Tweed and Ale watercourses,

respectively. Morham, in East Lothian, also lies on a watershed, between the Tyne and Garvald Water valleys, and the name, ham on the moor , (Nicolaisen.1976.76), could be further proof of settlement on open land.

One group of place-names of Old English origin has a particularly interesting distribution, that which incorporates the element worth , for an enclosure. Nicolaisen noted that the term meant the same as the later ton (1976.77), which could mean that examples were relatively early. There are three definite examples in the Tweed-Forth area, Polwarth in Berwickshire, Cessford (Cisswirth in 1296) and Jedburgh (Gedweardē in the Historia de S. Cuthberto) in Roxburghshire, and one possible, Oxward near Chirnside in Berwickshire (Williamson.1942. 41). These all lie in the Tweed basin and could represent Anglian settlement before expansion into the Lothians (Fig 3.4). Cessford, like Oxnam, lies on the land between the Kale and Jed watercourses and Polwarth lies on the north side of the "Heriots Dyke" linear earthwork which faces north (Graham.1962). Thus, with the possible exception of Gedwearde which became important for later reasons (p 420) these two could be considered as infilling of open or uninhabited parts of the Tweed basin, since there is a complete lack of evidence for pre-Anglian settlement in the vicinities of either Polwarth or Cessford.

Those place-names containing the element -ingtun all appear to lie within the Tweed-Leader-White Adder block, with the notable exceptions of Haddington in East Lothian


Place-names in the Tweed
-Forth area
with ingtun and worth
ingtun
worth
boundary of recorded
pre-Norman territorial
arrangements
0
40 km

and Carrington in Midlothian (Fig 3.4). With the exception of this pair, all the definite examples lie east of Eccles and are all mentioned in the "shires" of Berwick and Coldingham, in the 1095 charter of Edgar (pp 81-4) apart from Mersington which lies beside Leitholm and Hassington which Williamson does not accept (1942.8) as an example. Gelling has pointed out that the occurrence of ing in a place-name does not necessarily mean use of ingas or "people of" (1978.109-10). Nicolaisen said the same and has proposed that ingtun meant "settlement associated with" the person named (1976.73). The examples of Bondington or Bonnington will be considered below, since there is a lack of evidence that they were ingtun -element names. Their distribution is not wide (Fig 3.4) and they probably do represent an expansion of settlement by the Angles, from already established centres, as Nicolaisen has proposed (1976.74). The examples of Edrington, Edington and Mordington lie by the confluence of the Adders with the Tweed (Fig 4.4) and by the early tun -element place-names of Hutton and Paxton (Williamson. 1942.28, 43; Nicolaisen.1976.36). Upsettlington lies beside the major ford of Ubbanford , between it and Norham, across the Tweed (p 38) and near Simprim, which could be an ingas -element name (Williamson.1943.2; Nicolaisen.1976.70). Renton (Regninton in 1195) lies on the Eye valley, near Coldingham and Mersington, along with the doubtful Hassington (Fig I.3) lies beside Leitholm. Haddington lies on an important crossing of the River Tyne, though its later importance as a shire-

centre might have obscured traces of the earlier settlement. Carrington is situated in the land between the North and South Esk rivers and is even more isolated than Haddington. It also lies beside Lasswade, which literally means, "ford on the pasture", incorporating a rarely-used Old English element laes for pasture (Dixon.1947. 221). Just to the south lies a noticeable group of later Old English place-names, Halkerston, Esperston, Fullarton and Outerston (Dixon.1947.293-7)(Fig I.12), which may have been the result of later expansion of settlement.

The distribution of examples of place-names containing ingaham (Fig 3.3) is also interesting, in spite of the fact that only three definite and one possible are known and accepted. Tyningham and Coldingham are mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto and other sources of Anglo-Saxon origin and date. Nicolaisen is also satisfied that Whittingham, which lies beside the Biel Water in East Lothian is an example (1976.69). There is an intriguing reference in a charter of Alexander III, of 1271-2, for the establishment of a friary at Houston in East Lothian, to Lynerryngham (Bain.1888.29). This is somewhat late and can only be identified with East Linton by default of another possible location. Nicolaisen has accepted the possibility of it having been an example (Pers.Comm.1981), mainly because it lies three and a half kilometres from Tyninghame and eight from Whittingham and like the others, around the mouth of the Tyne and near Dunbar. Nicolaisen has concluded that

Coldingham literally meant "settlement of the people of Colod(æsbyrig)" and there is archaelogical evidence for the site of Coldingham being a centre for the lands connected with the monastery of Colodaesbyrig (p 401). The other three examples are located under ten kilometres from Dunbar but over six from it. They all became parish-centres in their own right and the ingas -element would seem to imply some kind of separate identity and organisation, since it does literally mean "the people of" a certain person or place. This could be the Hwitta of Whittingham or the land around the Tyne for Tyninghame and the linn or pool for Lyneryngham (Nicolaisen.1976. 71-2). The fact that only in the case of Whittingham is an Anglian person's name included, could imply that the people and settlements in or dependent on the ham were not all of Anglian origin. This is speculation, as is much of this section, though the distribution of the ingaham -element place-names seems exclusive to the Lothians and Coldingham, which proves what has already been suspected, that Anglian settlement in the Lothians differed in some details from that in the Tweed basin. Two of the recorded ingaham -element place-names, Tigbrethingham and Hruringaham have not been satisfactorily located. The former, which is mentioned in the peculiar list of possessions of Lindisfarne (p 76) between Melrose and Abercorn, is not given ingaham , unlike Tinningham, an oddity which has not been explained by any place-names authority. Hruringaham was traditionally located

in the vicinity of the Leader valley (Cox.1976.16), possibly at the deserted village of Wrangham (NT 626359) though Williamson has identified it with Risingham in Northumberland (p 61).

The reasons why a settlement should bear a place-name with the element ham instead of ton are not clear. There seems to be a lack of any real evidence that any of these settlements, with the elements discussed so far in this section, apart from those with ham , were possibly important during the pre-Scottish period. This is all in the absence of reliable evidence and almost completely based on the distribution of known and accepted examples, which is far from complete for the Tweed-Forth area. The example of Tigbrethingham would seem to provide evidence for the loss of important place-names, and others which have not been recorded on surviving written sources. The intriguing place-name of Glensax, south of Peebles, has been dated by Jackson to the seventh century (1963.540), though it is not known whether this arose because of Anglian settlement or a short-lived presence of some kind near the British centre at Peebles (p 309). Bede's reference to what is now Kinneil in West Lothian, as Penneltun (HEI.12), would seem to provide evidence for Anglian settlement west of Edinburgh, as well as a terminus ante quem for its formation. Bede also records that it was known as Penfahel , which was Brittonic for "(settlement) at the end of the (Antonine) Wall" (Watson. 1926.347-8). Thus it could be concluded that this is a

case of the Angles taking over a British settlement.

This conclusion is drawn without any other reliable evidence and completely on the basis of the meaning of the place-name. There are quite a few place-names of Old English or Anglian type which incorporate Brittonic elements, in the Tweed-Forth area, the question being whether any useful or reliable information can be made from them. As well as the obvious examples of Dynbaer and Mailros , for Dunbar and Melrose respectively, there are tun -element place-names which incorporate Brittonic elements. These include Pirntaiton on the Gala valley, Gorton on the North Esk, Crichton on the Roman road between Dalkeith and the Lammermuirs, and Liston on the ford over the River Almond west of Edinburgh. Dixon has identified these first elements, in his thesis on the place-names of Midlothian (1947), as pirn for a tree (287), govr for muddy or dirty (225) creic for stony ground (169) and llys for a lord's residence (213) respectively. These could be interpreted as being the equivalent of the "Grimston-hybrids", of the English Midlands and Yorkshire, where a Scandinavian personal name is the first element (Gelling.1978.228-34). Much could be made of them, in the subject of "bi-lingualism" and the relationships between Angle and Briton in the Tweed-Forth area. This would be if the place-names of the area had been studied as comprehensively and in as much depth as Dixon's work on Midlothian. As linguistic evidence, they might have limitations as artefacts for this study,

especially as regards dating their formation. Their distribution, as implied by the four examples, is around Edinburgh and in the Gala basin, which is only to be expected. These parts lie to the west of the main concentrations of place-names of Old English origin, and could represent Old English linguistic influence during the Anglo-Saxon occupation or late settlement by people of Anglian or possibly "Anglo-British" cultural background, in predominantly Brittonic parts. Nicolaisen has pointed out the concentration of place-names of Brittonic origin in the Gala basin (1976.157) and supports Dixon's identification of Halltree, also in the Gala valley, as a true "Anglo-British" hybrid (p 97).

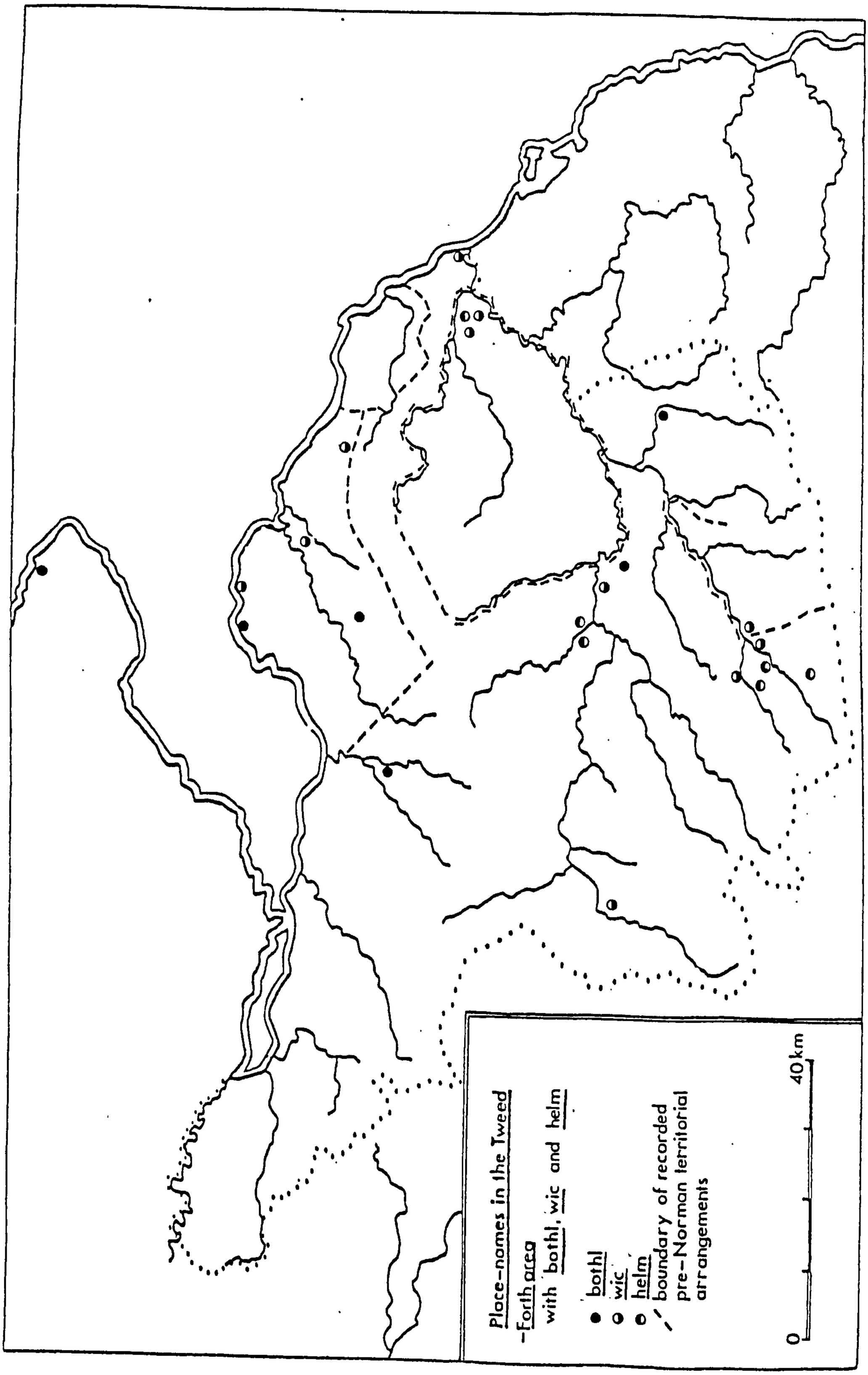
Jackson has interpreted the name for Dunbar, recorded by Eddius Stephanus as Dynbaer (p 68) as completely Brittonic (1953.320) and the recorded name for Melrose Mailros as a Gaelic interpretation of the Brittonic Melros (1953.326). This simply supports what has already been concluded by authorities on the early Medieval period in North Britain, that both these sites were British in origin and were taken over by the Angles. As Jackson's study of the recorded names for Edinburgh (1959) shows, these various versions of Din Eidyn which are recorded, do aid interpretation of the history of a place but fail to provide information on the relationships between Angle and Briton. Because the Angles used elements of Brittonic origin in place-names, it does not necessarily follow that they were the products of an "Anglo-British" culture or

bi-lingualism. The possibilities of such developments as good Anglo-British relationships during and after the takeover by the Angles, intermarriage and the development of this possible "Anglo-British" culture, need not be excluded. It is just the deficiencies in the possible evidence for all this which prevent reliable conclusions being drawn.

In spite of these discussions of the shortcomings of place-names as archaeological evidence, the possibilities are that, within the contexts of territorial organisation, such as the examples of land-blocks recorded in the Historia de S. Cuthberto , they can be useful. The most significant class of place-names in this respect, is that of settlements which seem to have come into existence as parts of estates . The most obvious ones are those which incorporate the element wic , which Nicolaisen has pointed out as being of eighth century or later date and part of the wider Anglo-Saxon culture (1976.81). The examples of Berwick, Sunwick and Fishwick can be seen in relations to the "Berwick-shire" which is mentioned in Edgar's charter of 1095 (p 83). Darnick and the possible Merwick (Fig I.6) can be seen in relation to the monastery at Old Melrose and its lands which survived as the "dominio ...de Melros", which is mentioned in David I's charter of Selkirk (p 86). The examples of Hedderwick, North Berwick, the lost Berwick by the Berwick Burn (a tributary of the Dunglass Burn (Williamson.1942.42)) and the doubtful Innerwick, in East Lothian, could be related to the

"from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" land-block. The examples of Borthwick, Hawick and Fenwick, in the upper Teviot basin (Fig 3.5) might be similarly associated with the block of land there, which is also mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 75)(Fig I.5). The oddly isolated Dawick, in the upper Tweed valley, is near a non-defensive stone-walled settlement (RCAHMS. 1967.115). It was also a chapel of the major religious centre at Stobo (p 378) and so might have been originally a settlement of an estate which came under clerical control at a later period. The distribution of these examples (Fig 3.5) can only really be seen in the context of estate-structures, occurring as they do in apparent clusters.

Williamson has identified a related group of place-names, those containing the element helm for a shed (1942.55-6). Only three have been identified, the lost Braxholm near Hutton, in the general area of the "Berwick-shire"; Buckholm on the Gala Water, which is still within the parish of Melrose and possibly originated in the land of the monastery , and Chisholm, near Hawick, which could be related to the land-block in the upper Teviot basin (Fig 3.5). Dixon has interpreted the place-name Liberton, which was mentioned in David I's charter to Holyrood as a chapel of the minster church of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh (p 88), as meaning "outlying dependent settlement on a slope" (1947.232-3). The element hlib , for a slope, is noted by Dixon as being


Place-names in the Tweed
-Forth area
with bothl, wic and helm
bothl
wic
helm
boundary of recorded
pre-Norman territorial
arrangements
0
40 km

distinctly pre-Norman English, so the possibility is that Liberton was indeed established, at some late date, as a settlement within the dependent lands of Edinburgh by the Anglo-Saxons. The element *bere* , which also occurs in the three known examples of Berwick, can mean both, grain, and outlying , could occur in Bearford, in the parish of Haddington but this is not reliably proven.

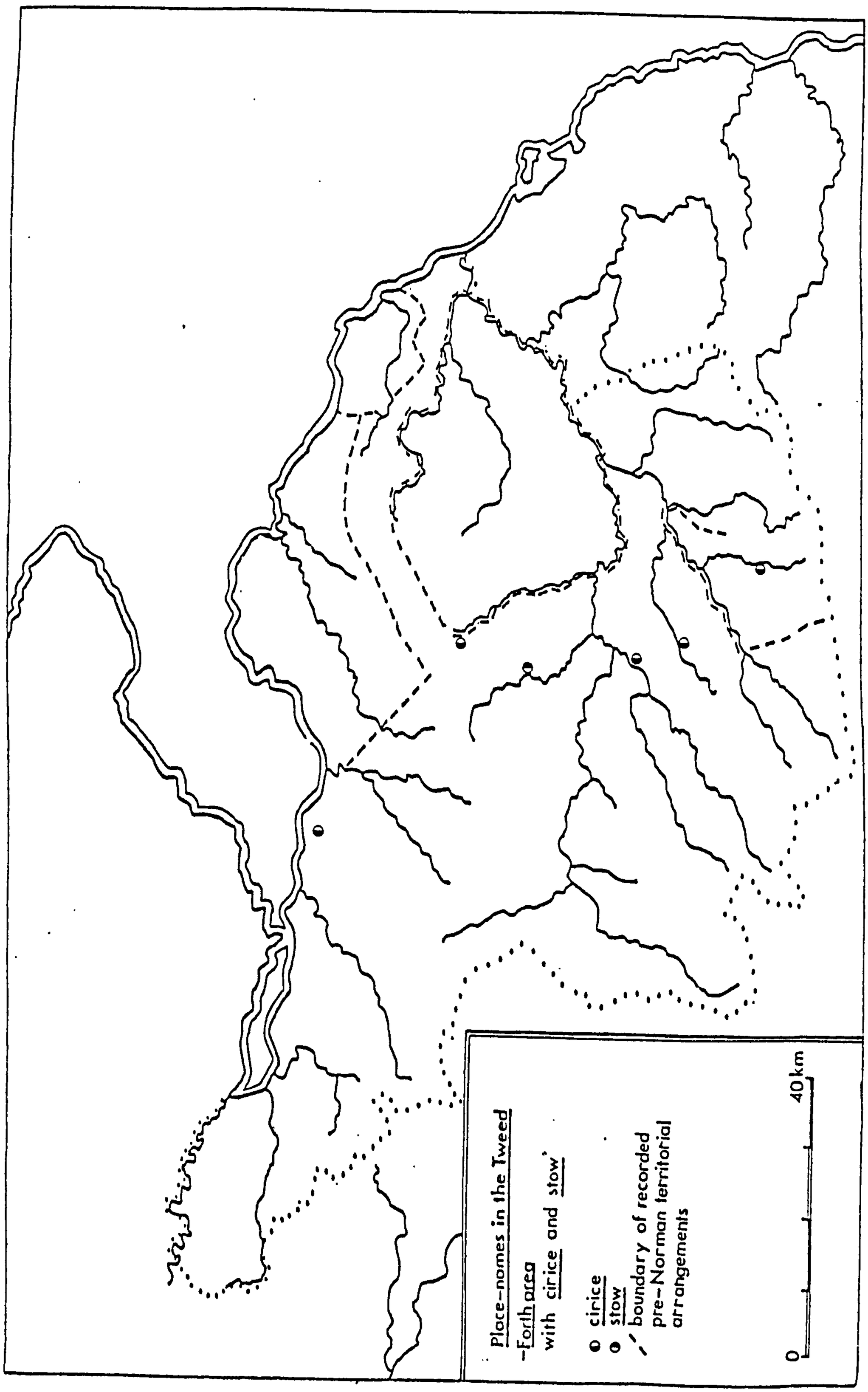
There is an undeniable temptation to regard a settlement's function as being reflected in the literal meaning of the place-name. A good example of this would appear to be Aldhamstocks in East Lothian (*Aldehamstoc* in 1127, Nicolaisen.1976.73), which could be interpreted as originating as a settlement related to Aldham. Though it lies on the northern side of the gorge of the Dunglass Burn and on the old road between Bunkle and Dunbar (p 36) which would make it an important settlement, there is no evidence to reliably associate it with Aldham, north of Tyninghame. The fact that the two places, with the apparently similar names, occur within the "from the Lammermuirs thence to Eskmouth" land-block, is virtually the only supporting evidence for regarding them as related. This is far from definite and there is the other possibility that they are not related at all.

Williamson and Nicolaisen are agreed that the element *bothl* , which occurs in some of the place-names in the Tweed-Forth area, literally means, a building and possibly, a

hall . Williamson has identified one definite and one possible example in the Tweed basin, Morebattle on the Kale Water and Bowden (Botheltun.1163/78) near Melrose (1943.49-50). Nicolaisen has identified three definite examples in the Lothians, Bolton near Haddington, Eldbotle by the coast (Fig 3.5, I.11) and Newbattle near Dalkeith (1976.77). Barrow has also pointed out that the first mention of Babbet in Fife is as Ballebotlia in 1205 (Barrow.1973.263), which would imply that the term bothl was in use after the Scottish takeover. This is because its first element is the Gaelic baile . Similarly, the "new building" mentioned in the place-name Newbattle, could refer to the Cistercian monastery which was established there in 1140 (Cowan and Easson. 1976.77), since there is no mention of the place-name in a document of an earlier date. Of the others, the distribution (Fig 3.5), is interesting since they all occur widely apart. Morebattle is mentioned as the site of an early church in the Inquisitio of the lands of Glasgow, of 1119 (p 88), which could mean that it was a centre of some kind in the early Medieval period. Bowden is not accepted by Nicolaisen, though it might have had a function within the lands of Melrose. As with Sprouston, any importance appears to have ceased by the twelfth century and the Scoto-Norman documents. Bolton lies beside the possible eccles -element name of Eaglescarnie and the three-hectare enclosure of the Chesters (Fig I.13), on a tributary of the Tyne and some roads between the

Lothians and the Merse (Fig 1.3). Eldbotle is mentioned in charters of David I as the site of a royal manor, (Lawrie.LXXVIII.CLVII) and lies within the very large and fertile parish of Gullane or Dirleton (Fig I.11). Within this same parish lies the field marked Kilmurdie on the Ordnance Survey but recorded as Karmurdac in charters of the De Vaux family, which is discussed above, (p 104). In view of what has been said about the possible roles of settlements with caer -element place-names, the possibility is that Eldbotle superseded the importance and economic or social roles of Karmurdac . As with the other pieces of evidence which have been cited in the course of this section, this assumes more than can be actually proven, particularly since there has been no excavation at any of these places mentioned. Since none of the place-names can be dated by the documents to before the twelfth century, there was time between the Anglian occupation and then, for significant changes, for which there is no known evidence.

In her paper on "Some meanings of Stow", Gelling refers to the place-name element of cirice , which had a similar literal meaning as stow , which meant a meeting-place for religious activities (1982.187). Williamson has identified four possible examples in the Tweed basin, Channelkirk on the Roman road through the upper Leader valley, Selkirk by the junction of the Yarrow and Ettrick Waters, Ashkirk on the upper Ale valley and Hobkirk on the Rule Water (1942. 52-4). To these could be added the deserted settlement


Place-names in the Tweed
-Forth area
with cirice and stow'
cirice
stow
boundary of recorded
pre-Norman territorial
arrangements
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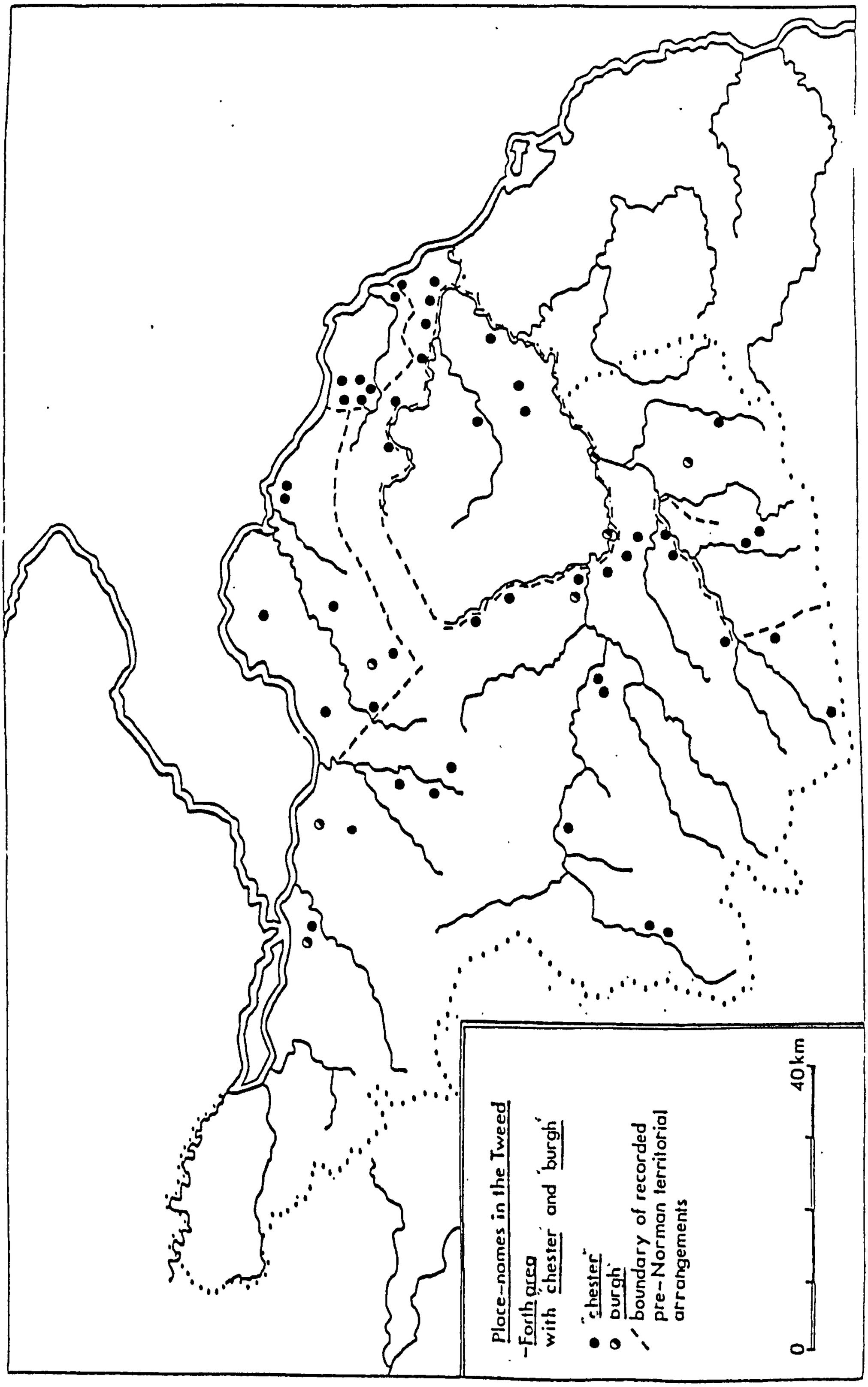
which was associated with St Cuthbert's church at Edinburgh and was called Kyrchetun in the Holyrood charter (Dixon.1947.136)(Fig 3.6). The occurrence of various examples of Kirkton , in the Tweed-Forth area such as Kirkton of Cavers, by the Teviot, might not be relevant since a kirkton was a later Medieval development, a settlement which grew up around the parish church. No evidence has been identified in any written sources for these other examples of kirkton having cirice as an element. The Kirkton of Cavers lies one and a half kilometres south of the site of the old parish church (Fig I.5) and could represent a later development of part of the parish. Gelling has interpreted these place-names as representing late Anglo-Saxon developments, the giving of a name to a place which has become a gathering-place before that date (1982.188-9). All the examples cited lie beside important routes and near probable places of importance in the early Medieval period. Hobkirk lies below the large defended enclosure on Bonchester Hill and where routes along the Rule Water join with those from the Jed Water (Fig I.5). Ashkirk lies on the road between Selkirk and the Borthwick Water, where the Roman mountain road from Eskdale ends (p 35). It was also the site of a manor of the Bishop of Glasgow in later Medieval times (Cowan.1967.9) and was mentioned in the Inquisitio of the lands of Glasgow in a list of possessions by the Ale Water (p 88). Selkirk was where the route from Traquair, which crosses Minch Moor and is cut by the linear earth-

works of "Wallace's Trench" and the "Picts Work Ditch" (p 165), descends to meet the routes along the Ettrick Water. It was also the site of an important royal manor and David I's grant of land to the Tironensian monks for an abbey in 1113 (p 86). Channelkirk lies on a Roman road in the vicinity of Carfrae and a concentration of non-defensive stone-walled settlements (p 104)(Fig I.1). Kyrechtun lies below Edinburgh Castle, the site of Din Eidyn , by routes which run between the marshland around the River Tumble and that around the Water of Leith (Figs I.14, 15). It also became the site of the important church of St Cuthbert, which was given to Holyrood Abbey by David I (p 88) since it appears to have been the minster church for the shire of Edinburgh. This evidence is very interesting and seems to support the proposal of Gelling that these places originated as centres. The fact that the Old English cirice literally means the same as the Brittonic eglwys (pp 105-106) is only to be expected since the best place for a church or burial-ground is at an established meeting-place. Early burials have not yet been located at any of the five examples, though their principal function might just have been as meeting-places for religious activities. The only known example of stow , which is known in Northumbria north of the Tyne is on the Gala Water, at Stow in Wedale. The first mention of the name is in a document of 1473 (Dixon.1947. 280) and Gelling has noted that the name is being used

in the formation of place-names as late as the twelfth century (1982.191). Even so, she notes that "a place designated stow had some rare characteristic and was performing a special function in the life of a wide area" (1982.189). Stow in Wedale could be seen (Fig I.7) as the meeting-place for the inhabitants of the Gala valley. That the place was important in early Medieval times is implied by the fact that the see of St Andrews came to control it soon after the Scottish takeover, in spite of the considerable distance between St Andrews and Stow (Cowan.1967.188). What these place-names provide, with the supporting evidence which is cited, is a group of locations where meeting-places could be expected to have been established by the early Medieval period, in spite of the lack of definite dating-evidence and evidence which is essentially circumstantial.

This question of dating-evidence relates to another class of place-names, those which incorporate the element burgh , which relates to a fortification of some kind (Gelling.1978.143-6). Williamson has identified five examples in the Tweed basin, though she points out that the term was still being used in the formation of place-names in later Medieval times (1942.45-9). This would explain the names, Winterburgh, near Selkirk, which referred to an enclosure for winter grazing of cattle and Scraesburgh, near Jedburgh, which referred to a later Medieval ringwork (RCAHMS.1956.233). The lost Scalbed-raburgh , allegedly was situated on a spur on the north side of the Tweed near Gattonside (NT528362) and could


Place-names in the Tweed
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with 'chester' and 'burgh'
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have been a pre-Anglian fortification. The fortification, or enclosure, which might have given rise to the name Dryburgh, has not survived. Roxburgh is situated on a defensible gravel hill, at the junction of the Rivers Tweed and Teviot and could represent a British fortified settlement which was taken over by the Angles, since it appears to include an Old English personal name, Hroc, and there are other reasons, discussed below (pp 304,305). In the Lothians, only two possible examples have been identified, one of these, Whiteburgh near Crichton probably refers to the native fortified settlement on Dodridge Law (Fig I.13). The other is Edinburgh, which is called "Edinburrough" in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, for 834 (Anderson A O 1908.426). Jackson has interpreted Edinburgh as being an almost direct translation from the Brittonic Din Eidyn with some possible Gaelic linguistic influence (Jackson. 1958.41-2). The fact that Indulbh, king of the Scots from 954 until 962, obliged the Anglo-Saxons to "evacuate" the Oppidum Eten during his reign, (according to the Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland (Anderson.1922.475-6). could imply that Din Eidyn became Edinburgh in the tenth century, as a result of the expansion of the Wessex kings. Nicolaesen has suggested that the burgh -element place-names could have had their origins in the eighth century (Pers.Comm.1982). This would fit with the short-lived revival of Northumbrian expansion under Eadberht (737-59). which will be discussed below (p 264). Cramp has suggested that the burgh -element place-names might have been applied to Anglian, or formerly British, fortifications, which

were to "protect their eastern seaboard and main routes of access through their kingdom" (1983.274). That the Gedweard of the Historia de S. Cuthberto became Jedburgh shows that the use of the element was not exclusive to the time of the Anglo-Saxon occupation. Thus, with the possible exception of Edinburgh, all the other examples of place-names with the element burgh could be no earlier than the twelfth century. As with other examples of possibly useful place-names, there is a lack of supporting evidence for dating.

Another possible group of useful place-names of Old English origin is that of names which use the element "chester". Gelling has proposed that the examples in North Britain refer to Prehistoric or pre-Anglian fortifications (1978.152). Of the known examples (Fig 3.7), those which do not lie in apparent association with the remains of earthworks are the exception. Smith has suggested that the "chester"-element place-names might represent British settlements which were occupied during the Anglian takeover (1982.28). This might seem to be a credible interpretation of the known and located examples, such as those shown in the Berwickshire Merse (Fig I.1) and those in the territory of Coldingham (Fig 3.7). The problem with these place-names is the usual one of dating their formation to the time of the Anglo-Saxon occupation. There has been no systematic study of these place-names by any of the relevant authorities on place-names in what is now Scotland. In his "Notes on Berwick-

shire forts" Craw lists thirty-three in that county alone (1921.254) and some are recorded in sources later than 1700. The distribution of examples (Fig 3.7) becomes sparser towards the west and away from the parts of the Tweed-Forth area where there was more settlement by speakers of Old English. None of the sites which appear to be in association with a "chester"-element place-name have been shown, by excavation or stray-find, to have been occupied in the early Medieval period. The occurrence of examples as far west as Chester Knowe in Tweedsmuir, Chester Law near Kirkliston, and Chester Hill near Carnwarth in Lanarkshire, could be due to settlement by Angles in these vicinities. They could equally be due to Old English linguistic influence at any time contemporary to the existence of Northumbria. This influence could have existed after 1018 and there is the problem of the name being applied at some later and unrecorded date. The usefulness of this class of place-names is thus limited, since there are no examples proven to have been formed during the Anglian period or for what reason. Even in the case of the three-acre defended enclosure called, The Chesters , which lies beside Eaglescairnie and Bolton in East Lothian (Fig I.13) and the examples which have been identified around Melrose (Fig I.6) or the Hirsel and Eccles (Fig I.1), they prove nothing by themselves. When and why the remains or settlement received this name needs to be understood, before the occurrence of a "chester"-element place-name can be of use to an archaeological study. On the basis

of the distribution-map (Fig 3.7) all the examples seem to indicate is the presence of Old English linguistic influence at some time.

It is this same problem of dating which limits the use to this study of those place-names which contain the element _tun_. Watson has noted that the settlement in the valley of the Eddleston Water, which is called by the Brittonic _Pentiacob_ in the _Inquisitio_ of the lands of the see of Glasgow of 1119, has been changed to the completely Old English Eddleston by 1189 (1926.135). In the absence of the necessary dating evidence, few of these recorded examples of _tun_ -element place-names have had their formation dated to before the twelfth century due to the better survival of documents from this period onward, compared to before. Wilton near Hawick and Clifton near Yetholm are mentioned in the _Historia de S. Cuthberto_ (p 75) and _Penneltun_ , the former name for Kinneil is mentioned in Bede's _Historia Ecclesiastica_ (p 125). Nicolaisen has proposed that Hutton, and Paxton in Berwickshire, along with Sprouston in Roxburgh-shire, were of an early type and probably were formed during the Anglian occupation of the Tweed-Forth area. Dixon has only been able to add the example of Liberton near Edinburgh (p 129). It is indeed unfortunate that in the cases of Edgerston on the Jed Water and Kirkton near Cavers, there seems to be no way of proving an association between the place-name and the nearby non-defensive stone-walled settlements (RCAHMS.1956.225-8,

105-7). Any distribution-map of the tun -element place-names, which incorporate Old English personal or topographic names, in the Tweed-Forth area would mainly show the spread of Old English linguistic influence up to and possibly after the twelfth century. Only at Sprouston (p 278) and at Liberton (p 451) has archaeological evidence been identified to support these inferences on dating.

The presence of actual so-called "Grimston-hybrid" place-names in the Tweed-Forth area, like Ravelston near Edinburgh, which incorporates the name Hrafenkil (Dixon.1947.163)(Fig I.14) and Elliston near Bowden in Roxburghshire, which incorporates the name Yllifr (Williamson.1942.20), further complicates interpretation of the tun -element place-names. Dixon notes that the settlement of Smeaton, near Inveresk, became the unmistakably Scandinavian Smethby , for some time in the thirteenth century (1947.208). This is a particularly vivid example of how linguistic developments or influence do not always correspond with economic, social or political developments and arrangements. The concentrations of Scandinavian-influenced place-names around Moorfoot (Fig I.12) in Midlothian (Morthwaite in 1142) and Humbie in East Lothian (Fig I.13) respectively, could be interpreted as colonisation of vacant land at some time prior to or early in the twelfth century. As a result of Dixon's thesis on the place-names of Midlothian, some interpretation of the former group can be made, in the

sixth chapter (pp 334-335). With the byr -element place-names, there has been no similar study and the fact that Leaston near the Binns Water, a tributary of the Tyne (NT485635) is recorded as "villa de Laysynby", in the Lanercost Chronicle for 1294, (Barrow G W S Pers.Comm.1983) shows that there could be others whose names have been changed. This group of Humbie, Pogbie, Blegbie, Laysynby and Begbie on the Tyne (Nicolaisen.1976.101-2) seem to form a distinct group. This cannot be said of the isolated Humbie, near Kirkliston in West Lothian (Fig I.16) and the similarly isolated Corsbie near Ledgerwood in Berwickshire, which Williamson has interpreted as "settlement associated with a cross" (1942.282). The example of Smethby could mean that these examples were formed at any time between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, as could the lost Schatteby which Nicolaisen has located at somewhere in Berwickshire (1976.102). This subject of settlement-expansion in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries will be examined in more detail in the sixth chapter (pp 334, 341-7).

The two basic problems concerning the use of place-names to this study are, the lack of evidence to date the formation of examples of place-names to a certain period, and the lack of artefactual and structural evidence which could question or support conjectures drawn from study of just the place-names. The development of documentation in the twelfth century and after, makes settlement-shift or desertion in that time less of a problem, compared with

settlement-shift or desertion prior to that period. The latter is particularly difficult to trace, especially if it took place at an early period, such as the seventh century, or during the time of the disorder which accompanied the Scottish takeover of the Tweed-Forth area in the ninth and tenth centuries. The author has not the linguistic training to attempt a revision of the study of the place-names of the Tweed-Forth area, especially in view of the complicated linguistic and cultural history of the area up to the twelfth century, which is outlined in the Introduction (pp 8-9). It is too easy to become over-dependent on place-names as artefacts of the early Medieval period and assume that each particular type of place-name represents a phase of settlement. There are few reliable conclusions which can be drawn on the basis of study of place-names alone, in the absence of further thorough study of all the place-names of the Tweed-Forth area on a par with that by Dixon.

As the discussions of the place-names in the earlier part of this section, in relation to the land-divisions mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto, and the depictions of these (Figs I.5, 8, 9), show, these two types of evidence would appear to be related. It is obvious that settlement at any time in the early Medieval period would have been in relation to what arrangements or organisation already existed. There is unfortunately no evidence concerning the power-relationships between the Angles and Britons at any one time, which would have

changed between the early seventh and early eleventh centuries. This means that it might be rash to assume that a later Medieval parish-centre or lordship-centre, with a place-name of Old English origin, was the centre for the land in the later boundaries, in the earlier period. It could be suggested that Eldbotle superseded Karmurdac (p 322) with the former's bothl-element implying importance as does the caer-element of the latter place-name, and suggested by their positions (Fig I.11). Even so, it could not be proven, as could be said for Anglian occupation at most of the settlement bearing place-names of Old English origin. In their major study of deserted villages, Beresford and Hurst concluded that the foci of settlements in Medieval times were not static (1971.124-7). What is now recognisable as the centre of a parish might have more to do with post-Norman reorganisation and usually tends to be the settlement which grew up around, or was established by, the seat of the lord or by the parish church. For example, the present settlement of Sprouston, by the Tweed, which is mentioned in the Selkirk Charter of 1118 (p 88), bears an early tun-element place-name (Nicolaisen.1976.36), though it lies a kilometre south of the crop-mark site of a settlement of Anglian origin at Whitmuirhaugh (p 278). The village could lie on the site of the original Sprouston and the crop-mark could represent a completely separate establishment, the name of which is lost. The present site of Sprouston could

also represent a settlement which grew up around the burial-ground or religious centre which was established after the grant of Sprostona to Selkirk and after the possible villa regis at the crop-mark site was deserted.

It would be obviously mistaken to base any study of Sprouston on the place-name, especially since there is other evidence which exists and must be taken into account, as will be done in the other chapters of this study. Similarly, the distribution-maps of the Old English place-names might reveal useful patterns of distribution and settlement, most notably the differences between the Tweed-Teviot basin and the Lothians. They only present part of the picture, as is underlined by the references to other types of evidence in the section. These other types of evidence are as significant, if not more so, than the place-names and will be considered in the chapters below - especially those concerned with the Anglian takeover, Anglian settlement and economy and early Christianity.

THE PRE-ANGLIAN BRITONS

1) Their Settlements and Economy

It could be said that information concerning the Anglo-Saxon takeover is not balanced since there is a lack of a comparative study of evidence concerning and originating with the Britons. As the discussions of British written sources and place-names in the chapters above show, this is not quite the case for this area. What the Angles took over and what developed during their occupation would inevitably be related to what existed previously. The importance of understanding the Celtic background to Anglian North-umbria has been emphasised by Hope-Taylor's study in his report on the excavations at Yeavering (1977). There is also the fact, discussed in the first part of the previous chapter, that the survival of British settle-ment-names indicates the survival of British settlements. Since these would appear to have survived in much of the area, the implication could also be that the pre-Anglian arrangements survived and continued to develop in British hands, though under Anglian influence and overlordship.

What needs to be said at the start is that there is no settlement-site in the area where occupation of the sub-Roman and pre-Anglian period has been excavated, thoroughly studied and understood. There is no "typical" settlement type of the period, for any level of society or economic function. There are, however, settlement remains with a documentary reference, an artefact or a

resemblance to a known type of early Medieval settlement implying occupation or use during the post-Roman period. This is hardly a secure basis for interpretation or reconstruction of aspects of the area in the pre-Anglian period. As Alcock has pointed out, with regard to the Roman-dressed stones incorporated in part of the native structure at Rubers Law by the Teviot, post-Roman can simply mean any date after the second century (1979.134).

The written evidence for Edinburgh Castle as the site of Din Eidyn of the Gododdin poem or Stirling as possibly the urbs Giudi of Bede, has not been associated with any structural remains or artefacts. The blue glass bead from a hut in the defended enclosure on Bonchester Hill by the Rule Water (Piggott C M 1950), the knife from just outside the defended settlement on Hownam Rings by the Kale Water (Ibid.1948.Fig 14) and the allegedly Anglian annular brooch from the floor of the homestead at Crock Cleugh by the Calroust Burn (Steer and Keeney.1947.125-47) all remain to be associated with phases of occupation. As with the later Medieval artefacts from the settlement at Edgerston on the Jed Water, they could be the results of temporary occupation or later loss (RCAHMS.1956.No 457). The argument that some sites were of "Dark Age" date,on account of their lack of resemblance to excavated defended settlements of pre-Roman Iron Age date,obviously rests on an unreliable premise. None of the settlements which have been so dated on account of their resemblance to other dated remains have been excavated or had this dating proven otherwise.

This is true of the "nucleated forts" which have been identified in Roxburghshire which are: Woden Law III (NT 768125), Shaw Craigs II (NT 673095), Peniel Heugh II (NT 654263), Rubers Law (NT 580155), Moat Knowe, Buchtrig (NT 778136), Castle Hill, Ancrum (NT 624249), Chatto Craig (NT 767166), Burnt Humbleton (NT 852280), The Dunion (NT 625190). (RCAHMS.1956.53). Alcock's excavations of one at Dundurn in Perthshire showed that this example appears to have been initially built as a small hill-top enclosure in the late sixth century, the other enclosures being of at least eighth century date (Alcock.1981 .168-72). Not only does this mean that the "nucleation" came into being by different phases of building, as opposed to being a particular kind of basic settlement plan, but this also gives dates which impinge on to the period of the Anglian occupation. The other example of a "nucleated fort" cited by Stevenson, at Dalmahoy in Midlothian, has yielded objects suggesting occupation in the early Medieval period: the possible mould-fragments and gold cloth-fitting found by Stevenson himself (1949.196). It also lies in the parish of Ratho, which has a noticeable concentration of place-names of Gaelic origin, Dalmahoy itself literally means "field of dear St Tua" (Dixon.1947.274-89). This could mean that the fortifications date to the time of the Scotto-Pictish takeover, in the ninth or tenth century and was built by them as a result of their settlement there. If, as the place-names of Brittonic origin imply,

British settlement and cultural identity survived the Anglian takeover, fortified settlements and lordly residences were probably being built at times contemporary to the Anglian occupation in some parts of the area. It is also possible that the constructions were influenced by developments in architecture in Strathclyde and the Pictish areas. In short, though settlement or use of similar sites immediately before or during the Anglian period is not definitely proven, neither is it definitely disproven. Other possible examples will be more thoroughly discussed below.

One of these, the Dunion near Jedburgh, was partly excavated prior to quarrying: this appeared to show that the ramparts had been refurbished after falling into disrepair, as at Bonchester Hill, and the pottery found resembled late Prehistoric types (DoE Excavations Annual Report.1961.13,1962.11). Since only a small part of the original 4.8 hectare interior was excavated and the deposits were not really dated, this does not appear to provide much useful information. However, the reference to this pottery recalls Hope-Taylor's remarks about some of the pottery found at Yeavering resembling what was called "Votadinian" or Kummerkeramic ware (1977. 170-2). Though exact details of the pottery from the Dunion have not been published, it might be worthwhile to refer to this neglected class of evidence: Richmond remarked, "...found at homestead-sites at Sourhope, Roxburghshire, on the north slopes of the Cheviots, the ware is carried by associated relics towards the twelfth

century" (1942.121-33). The term "Votadinian" was coined to describe that found in the latest occupation-levels on Traprain Law, and probable sherds of the type were found during the excavations of Earns Heugh near Coldingham (Childe V G 1932.180). As Richmond pointed out, nearly all of the other examples so far known have come from sites in the Cheviots, on both sides of the present border. As well as Yeavering Bell and the later homestead at Hownam Rings (Piggott C M 1948.215-20), Richmond cites the defended settlements at Edgerston and Sourhope, though he does not name the actual site in the latter vicinity where fragments of this pottery were found. The facts are that sherds of this pottery do not survive well, or are sometimes difficult to identify, have contributed to the neglect of this group of evidence. As a possible source of evidence which could be used to check the dating of occupation-deposits, their use is thus limited. It might be hoped that Hope-Taylor's discussion of the discovery of examples at Yeavering and at Doon Hill (1980) will inspire new study. As it is, it would be useful to bear in mind the named finds of sherds at Edgerston and Sourhope in Roxburghshire, especially as regards this section.

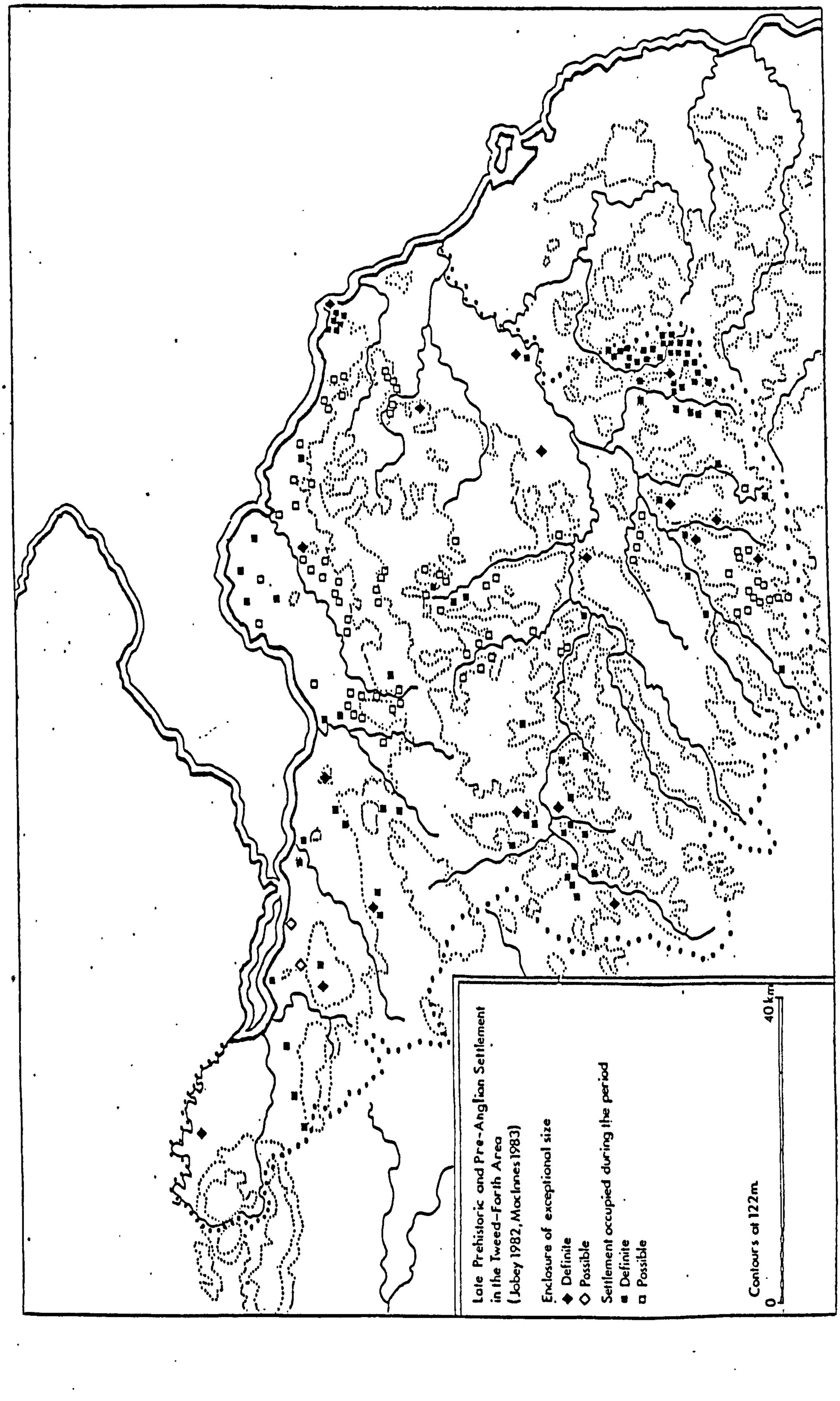
This does not advance the interpretation of the possible periods of occupation or roles of the Dunion fortification. It does not add to the various conjectures and inferences made about it with regard to the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 75). Whether it was the Duna mentioned in the same document, or not, it does lie on the watershed between the Jed and Rule Waters.

This is within two kilometres of the Anglian religious centre at Jedburgh and in the vicinity of a noticeable grouping of probably earlier native settlement remains, (Fig I.5). This would appear to emphasise the need to study such sites as those already discussed within the context of their vicinities and earlier settlement, and other relevant, remains. What the written sources provide is possible examples of major settlements or centres of the Anglian period, and landholdings or estates and various arrangements of similar or later dates. Thus it would be sensible to concentrate study on these related areas, as proposed in the Introduction, and attempt to understand what was developing by the end of the Roman period or at least up until then. If, as was also proposed in the Introduction, there was more of a tendency towards continuity of importance of a site and its related groups of settlement, this could explain the noticeable proximities of important sites of various periods. The best examples are, the 40-acre native settlement on Eildon Hill North, the principal Roman site at Newstead and the Anglian monastery at Old Melrose being within 4 kilometres of each other, by the confluence of the Leader Water with the Tweed. Or the site of Din Eidyn and Edinburgh lying beside the massif of Arthur's Seat on which there are the remains of at least four settlements (Fig I.14). It was probably the site of the major local meeting-place, as Rivet and Smith have suggested (1979.320).

This question of the relationship between topographically related remains of different periods is a very complex one, especially since the reasons for the continuing importance of a site might not be clear from the surviving remains. As discussed in the Introduction (pp 7-9) continuity of importance related to a site or its vicinity over a considerable period can tend to be the rule, rather than the exception. In his important study of the settlement-remains in the basin of the Manor Water, in Peeblesshire, I M Smith proposed that the basic land-divisions could date to the late Bronze Age and survived almost unchanged up to modern times (1982. 31-5). The evidence for early boundaries is difficult to identify, date or use to cross-check such proposals, and it was easier to continue the use of natural boundaries in upland than in lowland parts. For reasons discussed in the Introduction (pp 6-10) this is not unacceptable, merely difficult to prove. What this does underline is the need for some discussion of the native British settlement up to the sub-Roman period. Though this is not strictly relevant to the study, it is virtually the only way to attempt to understand developments in native settlement and economy up to that period.

Recent works like the papers in Later Prehistoric Settlement in South-East Scotland (1982), and MacInnes' Thesis, Later Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement North and South of the Forth (1983), seem to be agreed on the general details as well as the complexity of pre-

Roman native settlement and economy. Excavation of the defended settlement at Broxmouth, near Dunbar, under Hill, as discussed in his paper in the first work, mentioned above, showed that by the time of the Roman occupation, the typical kind of settlement does not appear to have been the, hillfort, but the non-defensive stone-walled settlement. This kind of settlement type is found throughout the Tyne-Forth area and examples have been the subject of much excavation and research, most notably by Jobey. Hill's conclusion supports Jobey's proposal that these developed from native examples, rather than from Roman influence or policy (1973). The discovery of rotary querns in examples in lowland parts, as at Broxmouth and in upland parts, as at Tamshiel Rig near Jedburgh (RCAHMS.1956.426-7) imply that a mixed rather than pastoral economy was typical. Halliday has also shown that extensive field-systems and linear earthworks associated with settlements had existed in the area for some time previously, suggesting an "organised landscape" such as that known in other, more southerly parts of Britain (1982). MacInnes has also proposed that there were few distinctions between the economies of upland and lowland parts, heavier tills were exploited in both, and the importance of cattle to the economies was declining (1983.170-82). The pollen-samples discussed in the first chapter would seem to support these conclusions, implying an essentially open landscape of mostly rough pasture and moorland. The lack of grain pollen could be


Late Prehistoric and Pre-Anglian Settlement
in the Tweed-Forth Area
(Jobey 1982, MacInnes 1983)
Enclosure of exceptional size
◆ Definite
◇ Possible
Settlement occupied during the period
■ Definite
□ Possible
Contours at 122m
0
40 km

due to the source of pollen-samples being primarily from marshland and the low ratio of cultivated land to un-cultivated in the pre-Anglian period. As it is, this phase of possible social and economic change, before the Roman period, corresponds to one of those listed by M. Jones for The Development of Crop Husbandry in Britain; approximately from the first century BC to the first AD there was a growth of non-defensive settlements and the cultivation of heavier gravel soils (1981.119).

Developments in settlement and economy beyond the second century in the Tweed-Forth area are difficult to identify, since there are few known settlements where occupation of a date later than the second century has been identified. Hill has pointed out that the second century artefacts of Roman origin which characterise the finds-assemblages from excavations of the non-defensive stone-walled settlements tend to occur in the latest levels. This would imply that occupation ceased in these sites during or soon after the second century (Hill.1982. 9-10). However, Alcock has cited cases of artefacts of Roman origin occurring in the occupation-levels of settlements of sub-Roman and early Medieval date, which indicates that their occurrence is not a particularly reliable indication of occupation-periods (1979.134-5). The absence of datable artefacts of native origin is unfortunate and makes it difficult to construct a dating-system which is not dependent on objects of Roman origin. Jobey has summed up this tailing-off of datable evidence

thus: "The problem is one which is already familiar from the excavation of similar settlements in the North where the paucity of datable finds is notorious and perhaps second century Roman pottery more easily available. Moreover, the later stone-built houses are structurally less sensitive to the passage of time than timber-built houses", (1977.34). This situation could be more a reflection of the present state of knowledge about the period and aspects thereof, rather than the actual state of the native settlement and economy after the Second century.

Though Jones has proposed another phase of change in the third to fourth centuries - the development of smaller towns and the cultivation of heavier loams, which led to surpluses (1981.119), this refers to southern Britain. Whether this can be applied in any way to the Tweed-Forth area is questionable. However it is interesting to note that all the find-spots of Roman objects of dates later than the second century, as listed by Robertson (1970.Table 6) are homesteads, defended settlements and non-defensive stone-walled settlements overlying the latter. These overlying settlements are of particular interest since they seem to show a degree of continuity of use of a settlement between the different phases of economic development. An example of this is Kaimes Hill, west of Edinburgh, where later artefacts were found, as listed by Robertson. This could imply some continuity of settlement use and possibly even importance beyond the

second century. Of the other places listed by Robertson, Eildon Hill North and Kirk Hill near Coldingham are worthy of further discussion, since the former is usually assumed to have been deserted during the Roman period - an assumption that has yet to be checked by excavation - and the latter became the site of a seventh century palisaded settlement and an Anglian double-monastery (pp 394-399). Because a site has yielded artefacts of Roman origin and of third or fourth century date, does not mean that it was occupied after that and into the sub-Roman period, as Alcock has remarked of the Roman-dressed stones in the defended settlement at Ruberslaw near Hawick. It only provides a terminus post quem of the mid-second century for construction, not of occupation periods (1979.134). At the Dod settlement, in the valley of the Allen Water near Hawick, excavation under Smith uncovered evidence for some occupation of the site until post-Medieval times, with an associated mixed economy, though it was not clear that the occupation was continuous. As discussed in the second chapter (p 61) the references to St Cuthbert preaching and baptising "in montanis" probably refer to the Cheviots, which would imply continued settlement there, supported by the Bowmont grant mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 61). Though later buildings and constructions impinge on the non-defensive stone-walled settlements at Park Law and Kelsocleugh, in the Bowmont Valley (RCAHMS.1956.335-6, 344-5), this does not prove that they were occupied during

that period. This lack of datable artefacts and excavated sites, where there is evidence for occupation at some time after the second century, means that, with the virtual exception of Traprain Law (Jobey.1976.191-204; Close-Brooks J 1983.206-23), all that remains is a collection of possibilities.

What is especially interesting about Traprain Law is the concentration of what MacInnes has interpreted as settlements of possibly Roman date (1983.177-9), which lay nearby (Fig I.9). This raises the matter of the relationships between settlements, within the grouping, with each other, and to the oppidum, which means a neighbouring enclosure of actual or relatively larger size. That of 16 hectares on Traprain Law is usually cited as an example and is also the only one which has been partly excavated. Feachem has listed twelve of these in the Tweed-Forth area and three others could be added: Traprain Law 16.2 hectares, Eildon Hill North 16.2 hectares, Hownam Law 10 hectares, the Dunion 5 hectares, Rubers Law 3.6 hectares, White Meldon 3.5 hectares, Whiteside Rig (NT 112248) 3 hectares, Salisbury Craigs (NT 268732) 10 hectares, Arthurs Seat (NT 277729) 8 hectares, Kaimes Hill (NT 130665) 2.6 hectares, Edinburgh Castle (NT 251735) 2.6 hectares, Stirling Castle (NT 790940) (Feachem.1966.77-80). To this list the examples of other large enclosures at Bowden Hill (NT 977744) 3.2 hectares, the Chesters Eaglescarnie (NT 512688) 2.6 hectares, Kirk Hill on St Abbs Head (NT 917687) 3 hectares, Cademuir Hill (NT 223376) 3.6 hectares, Bon-

chester Hill (NT 595118) 3.7 hectares, Sweethope Hill (NT 696397) 3.14 hectares and Hirsel Law (NT 825417) 5 hectares, could be added. None of these sites have been completely excavated, nor have their roles or uses and periods of occupation been fully understood - with the obvious exception of Traprain Law. It is the exceptional area of these enclosures which justifies their inclusion in this list, along with their apparent relationship with concentrations of other settlement-remains. For these reasons, the precursors of, Abercorn Castle, of possibly 5 hectares, Linlithgow Peel, of 2.3 hectares, could be included along with the precursor of the Anglian monastery on Kirk Hill. The positions of these larger ones are interesting. Those at Salisbury Craigs and Arthurs Seat, with a collective area of 18 hectares, lie on the water-shed between the Esk and Almond rivers, that at Kaimes Hill on the watershed between the Water of Leith and the Almond and that at Cademuir at the focus of the upper Tweed, the Lyne and Manor Waters. The enclosure of 9 hectares on Hownam Law (Fig I.2) appears to lie at the approximate centre of a possible block of land delineated by the later parishes of Linton, Yetholm, Morebattle, Mow and Hownam and at the focus of the boundaries of the latter three. This seems to imply that these were later divisions of an earlier land-block based on the upper Kale and Bowmont Waters, though there is no other evidence for this claim. The position of the Dunion enclosure of 9 hectares in relation to the Jedburgh land-block, (Fig I.5) mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto

has been pointed out at the beginning of this section and, like the enclosure of 3.6 hectares at Ruberslaw, it lies on a watershed and on a later parish boundary (Fig I.5). Though these examples reflect similarities, while being as yet unexcavated or having their roles in relation to their vicinities understood, they reflect the organisation necessary to construct such works and the population or society and economy that built them. In other words, these oppida could not have been built without related land-blocks and previous settlement.

Though occupation of Eildon Hill North or Cademuir is not definitely proven to have ceased by the time of the Roman occupations, they could have been reoccupied between these times, as only at Traprain has the import-ance during the Roman period been proven unequivocally. Whether these oppida were the sites for tribal or sub-tribal assemblies, markets or fairs, religious activities or the residences of chiefs, it is not possible to say; nor whether these sites lost their importance with the development of the non-defensive stone-walled settle-ments and the society and economy related to them. Where the two types appear to co-exist, as in the possible Hownam Law-related block, the implication could be that any change took place within the block and there was room for continuity rather than disruption due to the change. This could be reflected by the fact that all the possible non-defensive stone-walled settlements in the Gala basin (Fig I.7) overlie earlier defensive settlement-remains.

Within these river-valleys there was slightly less room for expansion, so any settlement-shift might have been within a limited space and there was more continuity, in spite of the smaller population. In the lowland and more open parts, there would have been more room for shifting settlement-sites, as well as more opportunity for later cultivation to remove the remains. There needs to be more study and excavation to try to understand these early land-blocks, not just in the Tweed-Forth area but in North Britain in general.

As it is, the distributions of these non-defensive stone-walled settlements and other possible settlements of the Roman period give some indications of these land-blocks and possible groupings of settlements (Fig 4.1). In his discussion of the native settlement and economy in the Roman Frontier zone, Clack has proposed that the disposition of settlements in the upper valley of the Wear, Rede and Breamish rivers, indicated "an ordering of sites within land-holding units" (1982.394-6). This would appear to indicate common patterns of settlement-distribution and possibly organisation in most of North Britain. These possible groupings might be seen in relation to later sites or arrangements, like the Kale-Bowmont block and the Bowmont grant mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 73)(Fig I.2), or the concentration of sites at the junction of the Lyne Water and the Tweed, and the Roman fort at Lyne or the early Christian site at Stobo (p 378)(Fig 4.1).

Another possible class of evidence for territorial and economic arrangements, is that of the linear earthworks, which are most noticeable in the Tweed basin. It might be wrong to discuss these since only part of one has been dated, as regards its initial construction. The "Catrail" near the Dod, has been attributed by excavation, to the pre-Roman Iron Age (Smith I M Pers. Comm.1983) and some could be of later Medieval or early modern date. As the excavations which accompanied the survey of these in 1980 (under Barber J for the Scottish Development Department) showed, it is very difficult to date these as a result of the lack of datable material present in these earthworks. While the small cross-ridge dykes which proliferate in the Bowmont and Kale valleys are probably markers of land related to individual settlements, the larger works like the "Catrail" which apparently ran from the Borthwick Water to the upper Slitrig valley (RCAHMS.1956.479-85) probably had other functions (Fig I.5). Though the latter earthwork is for most of its length of little more than a slight bank and ditch, its apparent relationship to Carlavrik and the block of land related to Jedburgh has been noted already (p 104). Thus it is different from the "Military Road" (Fig 1.6), which appears to have been a double or triple-ditched work which ran across the ridge to the west of Eildon Hill North, hindering access from the west and possibly marking the dependent land of the oppidum and its related settlements (RCAHMS.1956.71-3). It has also been

commented on for its apparent correspondence to a land boundary mentioned in the 1118 Charter of King David for Selkirk (p 27). This in turn differs from the "Picts Work Ditch", a large single bank and ditch which ran from Torwoodlee near Galashiels across the Tweed to the Ettrick Water near Selkirk and has been dated to the early Medieval period since it could mark a boundary between the Britons of the upper Tweed and the Angles to the east (RCAHMS.1957.126-8). The latter faces east, as does the substantial ditch and bank of "Wallace's Trench", which lies on Minchmoor in Selkirkshire, and also lies athwart the routes between Selkirk and Traquair, which bypass the narrow gorge of the Tweed between Ashiesteel and Elibank (RCAHMS.1957.122-3).

Though it could be convincingly argued that any of these could have been in use in some way during the Roman or sub-Roman periods, Barber concluded that most of those examined in the survey were probably of pre-Roman date. The fact that 91% of those surveyed were on soils suitable for hill-pasture, were more related to topography than settlement and also controlled movement along the ridges, implies that their function was primarily to mark grazing-land and regulate movement of stock. This was the conclusion reached by Graham in his examination of the cross-ridge dykes in the southern Lammermuirs (1962.227-40) and by Halliday in his discussion of the linear earthworks associated with Tamshiel Rig in Roxburghshire and White Hill defended settlement near

Hawick (1982.80). A study of cross-ridge dykes in Glamorganshire (RCAHMS.1976.I.2-6) showed that some of these were related to Early Christian inscribed stones and probably marked the boundaries of lands of petty chiefdoms. This comparison, especially with "Wallace's Trench" on Minchmoor or those earthworks cutting or beside the roads in the Kale and Bowmont valleys, though interesting, only raises more possibilities in the absence of datable artefacts. Some of those identified in the Tweed basin and surveyed by Barber could date to the sub-Roman or early Medieval period, though they could equally be of later Medieval or early modern date, since human activity in the Tweed-Forth area did not cease with the Scottish takeover.

These indications of economic activity and an "organised landscape" might lack the widespread and intensive study comparable to MacInnes' treatment of East Lothian, and especially as regards the rest of the Lothians; it is only the broad details which are relevant to this study. Ideally, reference could be made to other Theses which study native settlement and economy in what is now Southern Scotland, during the later Roman and sub-Roman periods or to native settlements and economy in Strathclyde in the sub-Roman and early Medieval periods. Since these do not yet exist, this generalised discussion of evidence is more than slightly shallow and flawed, both in its identification of evidence and in its use of it. The fact that the linear earthworks and cultivation-

terraces proliferate in the Tweed basin while being hardly represented in the Lothians, is more likely to be due to the cultivable soils which are more widespread in what is now marginal land on the hill-slopes of the former than cultural or social differences between the two areas. The dating of the cultivation-terraces, their construction and times of use is similarly not clear. They were dated to the Anglian occupation by some authorities (Graham A 1939.312; RCAHMS.1967.36, Fig 4), though Halliday has pointed out that groups of these can occur in apparent association with settlements of Prehistoric date (1982.84). They could thus be further indications of the continuity of settlement and land-use in the land-blocks in the Tweed basin over a long period, though these are only more possibilities.

The third century seems to have been a time of political as well as economic change in north Britain: MacInnes has cited the end of use of the souterrain storage structures and the appearance of the Pictish groups as evidence of this (1983.23-4). If the non-defensive stone-walled settlements were abandoned, as Hill has suggested, what replaced them? Though Hill has pointed out the random and far from constricted distribution of the settlements of late Bronze Age up to the Roman period, in the case of the Bowmont-Kale valleys, which does not seem to imply pressure on land (1982.25, N 14), he does not consider what happened next, nor do any of the other authorities. Robertson's study of artefacts of Roman origin which were

found in native contexts provides places where such objects of third century or later date were found (1970. Table 6). Since these include the stone-walled settlements at Hownam Rings and Crock Cleugh in the Bowmont-Kale valleys and that overlying the oppidum at Kaimes Hill west of Edinburgh, the possibility is that settlement continued in some of the non-defensive stone-walled settlements, beyond the second and third centuries. Apart from the few details in MacInnes' Thesis, there has been no real consideration of what happened to native settlements and economy during and after the third century, in the absence of datable artefacts or settlements. The later objects from Eildon Hill North and Kirk Hill near Coldingham, noted by Robertson, emphasise the gaps in knowledge of developments and settlements up to this time and beyond. Only at Traprain Law, which was an exceptional site, have remains of this period been identified and studied.

The subject of Roman influence on native organisation and economy is worthy of a major study in its own right, though how this actually affected the general details of the later Gododdin is what is relevant here. As Smith has remarked, the Roman forts were probably sited to take advantage of native arrangements and not native settlements sited to take advantage of Roman arrangements (1982.19). The siting of the fort and major civil settlement at Inveresk among the extensive cropmarks of earlier native land-divisions, (Fig I.19), would appear to support this. Rivet and Smith have also suggested that the probable

names of the forts at Inveresk - Coria Otadinarum and Easter Happrew in Peeblesshire - Carbantoritum, which literally mean "Hosting-place of the Otadini" and "Waggon-ford", were transferred from native places of importance, Arthur's Seat in the case of the former (Rivet and Smith. 1979.312-3, 310). Only at Cramond in Midlothian and Carriden in West Lothian can the later British settlement, indicated by the caer-element place-name (p 104) can in any way be said to have been influenced by Roman activity.

The third century seems to have seen the beginning of the development of the series of territorial and economic arrangements in North Britain which became the Pictish territories (pp 172-3) which lasted until the ninth century. Thus, it could be concluded that the sub-Roman British kingdom known as the Gododdin came into existence during this time, after the second century. The most obvious legacy of Roman influence was Christianity, which will be dealt with in the second section of this chapter. The other legacies were some British chiefs taking Roman-influenced names, like Cinhil from Quintilius or Cluim from Clemens and meeting-places, the "diversa loca" mentioned in the Ravenna Cosmography document. These interpretations, of names in a king-list preserved in Wales and of terms recorded in the Ravenna Cosmography, were by Richmond (1949.129-5) and have not been generally accepted. Jackson has pointed out the unreliability of the first source, which depended on a tradition that the later Welsh kings of Gwynedd were descended from those of the Gododdin and the more likely

probability is that the names indicated an admiration for things Roman, rather than being the result of Roman investiture (1955.80). Rivet and Smith have also pointed out that "diversa loca" could also mean "other places", which the Roman compiler omitted initially (1979.212).

In spite of this, it could hardly be claimed that the Gododdin owed nothing to the Romans: as with what is now Wales, it was an area which was only occasionally occupied by the Romans and then only in a military capacity. But it was not completely outside the Empire and was thus open to influence for over three centuries. The main indication of this influence is the Traprain Treasure, a hoard of silver of Roman origin which was found in a shallow, stone-lined pit at the west end of Traprain Law, by a workman's pickaxe, during the excavations under Cree and Curle. It is unfortunate that this is a neglected group of finds but this is due to the circumstances of the discovery. The dates or period of the final internment are not known, so the group is unstratified. The importance of the site before and during the Roman period is clearly associated with the silver being found there. Alcock has proposed that it was originally "a diplomatic gift or bribe" from the Romans and pointed out the two belt-suites or cingula, parts of which were included in the hoard, which would probably have originally belonged to "a bishop or someone with military leadership" (1981.135). Though it would hardly have been abandoned in an occupied settlement, it would similarly have not been

melted down in a deserted one. This fact, shown by the chopping-up of the silver vessels into lumps of similar sizes and weights, could mean that they arrived as a collection of complete vessels, were used as such for a time and the melting-down indicated a change of circumstances. Similarly, they could have arrived intact but were only of use to the Britons for their bullion value, so they were not actually used as vessels. There are other possible interpretations of their use, that they were a subsidy to allies of the Romans, who were losing their power and influence or, what was first assumed, that they were loot from a raid on the Continent.

It might be connected with the double-linked silver chain which fell out of the side of the quarry at the east end of the Law in 1938 (Edwards.1939). It is one of seven which have turned up south of the Forth, six of which were found in the Tweed-Forth area: near Haddington, at Hoardweel near Preston, by the defended settlement at Blackcastle Rings near Greenlaw, at Whitlaw near Lauder and at Walston Boreland near West Linton (Stevenson.1955). These have tended to be called Pictish though more have been found south of the Forth than north of it. They are another neglected class of evidence, their general date, functions and places of origin are not known. It is generally accepted that they had a ceremonial function and might have been worn around the neck like a torc. The fact that all seven were found almost intact could imply that they were deliberately buried. If taken along with Traprain

Treasure and the rifled hoard of Pictish silver, which included a fragment of a Roman spoon (Stevenson.1955), from Norries' Law in Fife, the conjecture could be made that these were the products of a trade in silver between the Britons and the Picts. The fact that they were found singly and at a distance from each other could mean that they belonged to a few people, like the major chiefs of the Gododdin and were symbols of their position, but this is speculation. Alcock has suggested that they were hung on the chest, as rewards for military prowess (1983.14). Until one is found in a properly stratified or datable context and there has been more authoritative study of these chains, their use is limited.

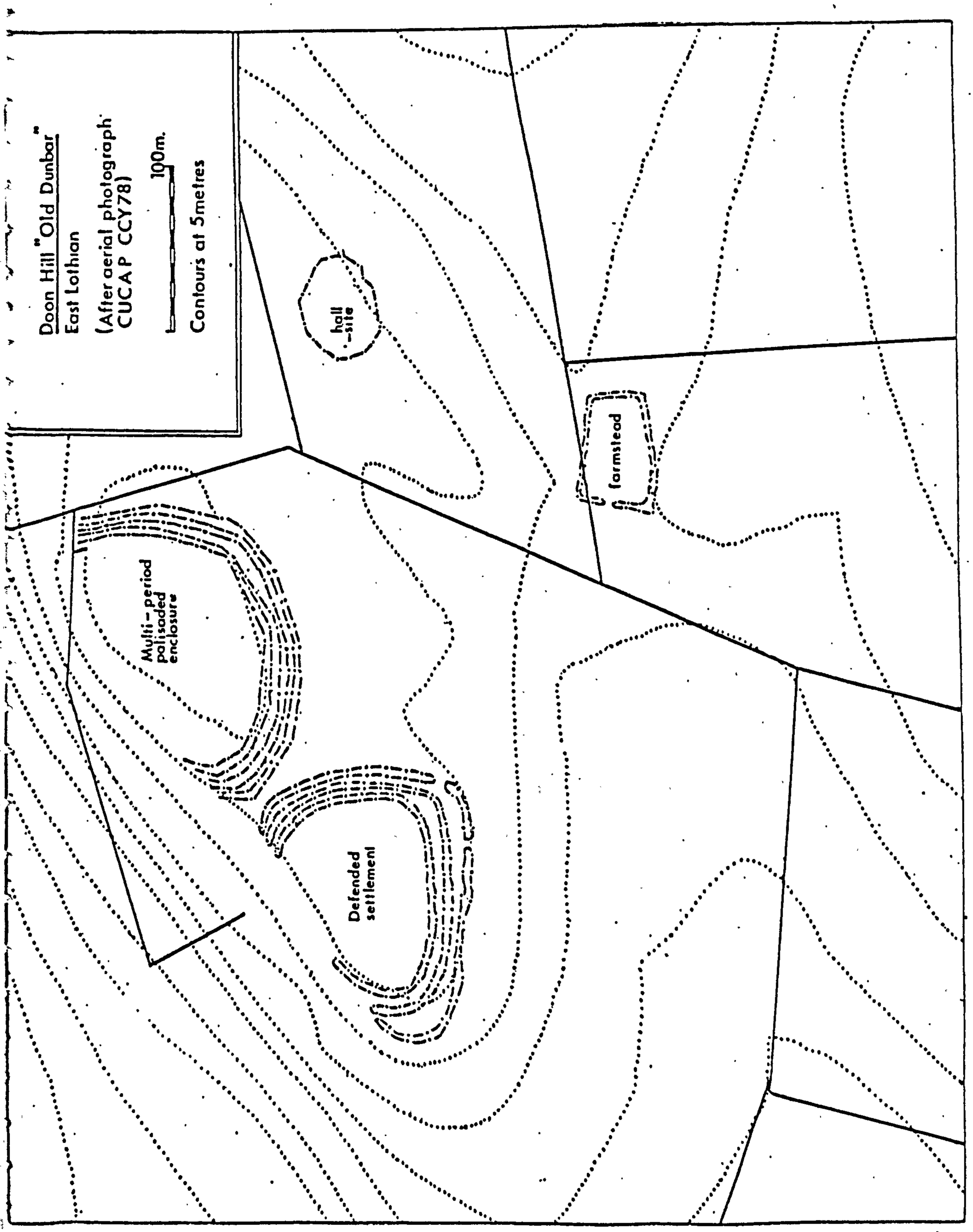
In his study of Roman policy in northern Britain after the late fourth century, Mann concluded that actual Roman influence was limited after 370 and the resurgent native culture owed little to the centuries of Roman influence (1974). This was supported by Fowler, in her earlier study of native metalwork (1963). Since Roman interest would have been in the major chiefs and their attitudes to both the Picts and the Romans and Britons, their policies would not have left much in terms of material remains. If a "new order" was coming into existence after the third or second century, as Alcock has remarked (1979. 138), it was when there was no actual Roman occupation of the Tweed-Forth area or part of it. MacInnes has also remarked that Pictish influence in the area could well have increased as that of the Romans declined (1983.394-7).

Apart from Thomas' proposal that there might have been Picts living on the south side of the Forth in the seventh century (1980.287-90), there is also the possible interpretation of the "Niduarian" Picts as being around Iuddeu which could have been Stirling (p 60). The Pictish symbol-stone which was found below Edinburgh Castle (Allen. 1903.421) is a stronger indication of Pictish influence or possibly even a presence. The Gododdin poem records at least a tradition of good relations between Pict and Briton (p 54). Richmond's proposals about Roman influence and the matter of client-kings or "tribal meeting-places", are perfectly acceptable - it is only the apparent evidence for this which is faulty. The native British aristocracy were very probably Romanophile, aping Romanitas and, accepting Roman influence and possibly frontier policy. The problem is finding reliable evidence to prove all this, as Smyth's discussion of the evidence shows (1984.15-18). In any case, there would have been ample time after the second and third centuries for changes. If Pictish influence grew as Roman declined, it would have mattered little that the British chiefs might have originated as client-kings of the Romans - it is what resulted from these influences that is of interest here.

The most obvious change in the area in the sub-Roman period was the apparent end of Traprain Law as a major settlement. Both Jobey (1976) and Close-Brooks (1983) are agreed that habitation probably ceased by some time in the fifth century. The name Din Pender (p 99)

can not be traced back very early and could derive from later traditions. It is also significant that no place of early or later Medieval importance lies in the immediate vicinity, unlike the other associations of important sites of different periods in other parts of the Tweed-Forth area, such as Old Melrose by Eildon Hill North. The Traprain Treasure could thus be interpreted as support by the Romans of their old allies (or vassals) and their settlement, which was in danger of losing its importance to another group of Britons and their settlement.

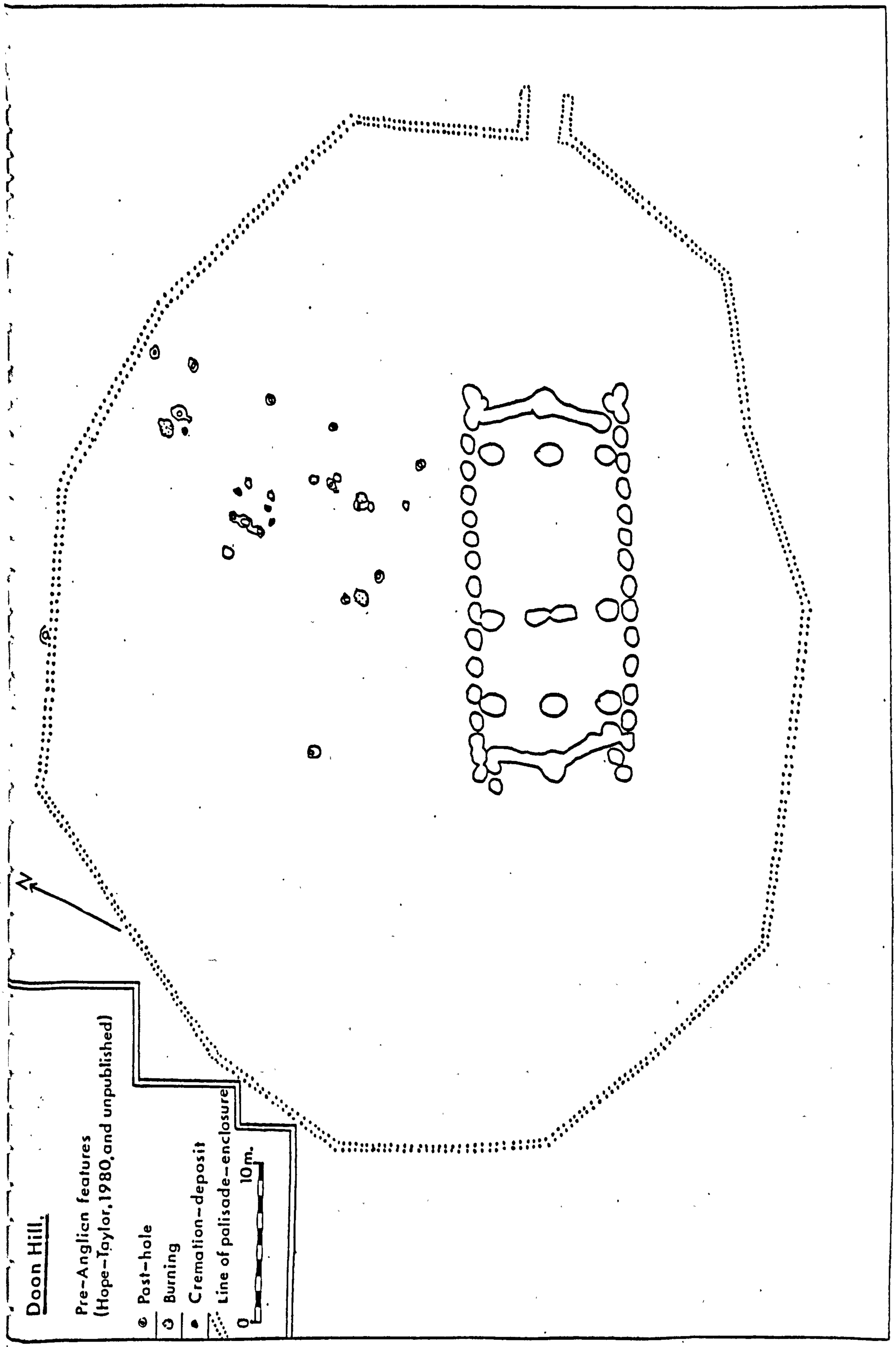
This other settlement would have been Din Eidyn , though the implications that it was of more than local importance, namely the references to it in the Gododdin poem, would seem to date this to the late sixth and early seventh centuries. The best comparison with the Gododdin would be the post-Roman kingdoms of what later became Wales. As Davies' studies of these shows, these bore little resemblance to the kingdoms of later Medieval times (Davies.1982.31-58, 67-71). The Gododdin would have had a structure of a number of chiefs of varying degrees of power and territorial relationships, acknowledging a single, possibly titled, person who was a titular over-chief with limited actual powers. Only the Gododdin poem and the later importance of Din Eidyn suggest that it was the seat of this person or that Mynyddog Mwynfawr was this over-chief. With the exception of Din Eidyn and possibly Iuddeu as a predecessor of Stirling, there is no mention in contemporary records of any of the centres


Doon Hill "Old Dunbar"
East Lothian
(After aerial photograph CUCAP CCY78)
100m.
Contours at 5metres
hall site
farmstead
Multi-period palisaded enclosure
Defended settlement

or residences of chiefs of the Gododdin. Another factor which needs to be taken into account is that studies of pre-Norman British societies and particularly the "multiple estate" social and economic system, by Davies (1982.43-8), Jones G R J (1976) and Barrow (1973), relate to documents of the ninth century at the earliest. In other words, there are details concerning what existed by later Medieval times, not concerning what might have existed by the sixth and seventh centuries and in the Tweed-Forth area.

This lack of definite evidence is not such a limitation as it might appear, since there are written references to Anglian places of importance in the area, along with artefacts, structures or other pieces of evidence. Since the Angles would have made use of the existing arrangements for their own benefit, their places of importance and recorded territorial arrangements would have incorporated more than just fragments of those of the Britons. The best evidence for this was excavated and assessed by Hope-Taylor, at Yeavering in Northumberland, where an Anglian villa regis was constructed beside a British ditched or palisaded enclosure of around 1.33 hectares (Hope-Taylor.1977. 205-9). Two further examples of such sites can be seen at Doon Hill near Dunbar and at Whitmuirhaugh near Sprouston, by the Tweed, both within the Tweed-Forth area. Only the first site has been excavated, by Hope Taylor and had suffered plough-erosion, which compounds the lack of published details.

The site (Figs 4.2, 3) consisted of an Anglian hall


Doon Hill.
Pre-Anglian features
(Hope-Taylor, 1980, and unpublished)
Post-hole
Burning
Cremation-deposit
Line of palisade-enclosure
0
10m.

in a palisaded enclosure lying just over 200 metres east of a defended settlement. Beneath this Anglian hall, and on the same alignment, lay another hall, 10 by 20 metres and with an area of 216 square metres. It strongly resembled a crop-mark of what could have been another hall at Sprouston (CUCAP.BEE35) (Fig 5.2), which also lies to the east of what appears to have been a defended enclosure. The fact that significant quantities of Neolithic artefacts have been discovered by I M Smith, during field-walking on the vicinity of the Sprouston site (DES.1981.4, 1982.4) might support Reynold's suggestion, in the light of his excavations at Balbridie in Aberdeenshire, that the first hall on Doon Hill is in fact of Neolithic date (1980). Hope-Taylor has strongly denied this, pointing out that "well-stratified remains of iron nails and an iron knife, small and extremely abraded sherds of terra sigillata and coarse pottery closely similar to post-Roman wares at Yeavering" were found in the post-holes of the initial hall (1980). The Neolithic artefacts from Sprouston were from surface-scatters and need not correspond with the remains beneath them exactly, all they necessarily prove is that there was settlement on the site in Neolithic times and the crop-marks at Sprouston have yet to be excavated. MacInnes has suggested that the defended settlement on Doon Hill and the palisaded enclosure beside it were concerned with pastoral activity, the latter possibly being a "stock-yard" (1983.127,128). It also lies on the boundary between the farms of Spott and Pinkerton and the later parishes

of Spott and Dunbar. The crop-mark site at Sprouston is sited where it commands extensive views both up and down the Tweed, as well as on most sides, is near a ford across the river and lies almost half-way between the Hirsel and the junction of the Teviot and Tweed rivers (Fig I.3). Since Yeavering lay where the valley of the Glen river widened out on meeting that of the Till, the implication is that it, like the other two originated as a local meeting-place, of considerable antiquity.

Until the site at Whitmuirhaugh, Sprouston, has been excavated, only conjecture and study of the aerial photographs can provide any indication of the structures, functions and extent of the site in pre-Anglian times. The functions of the ditches which cross the site, apparently up to 2 metres wide, or those of the probable palisaded enclosure and the other crop-marks beside it, or indeed their dates, remain to be shown by excavation. As Smith's drawings of "The Sprouston Palimpsest" (1984. Figs 5, 6) show, the probable crop-marks of the Anglian period are more comprehensible than those of the other periods. Similarly, the dates of construction and use, functions and relationships of, the possible double-palisaded trapezoidal equivalent to the Yeavering "Great Enclosure", of 120 by 90 metres, proposed by Smith (1984. 184) which lies beside the later Anglian halls and the trapezoidal enclosure of 5 hectares, which lies just over a kilometre down the Tweed and abutting to it (RCAHMS.RX/3438-40) are not known. The New Statistical Account

recorded that "...tradition repeats besides, that hearths and foundations of houses and kitchen utensils have been ploughed up in the field above the Scurry Rock; from which, it would appear, the village was formerly of greater extension on that side also" (1845.Vol III p 237). The mention of Sprostona in the 1118 charter to Selkirk Abbey (p 28), shows that occupation of the site and around it continued beyond the Anglian period and it is possible that some of the crop-marks are of later Medieval date. Since the Scurry Rock lay below the multivallate enclosure, the objects were found on the site of the crop-marks main concentration though they could have been of any date.

This exercise in conjecture in the absence of definite evidence can do little more than identify similar patterns, most notably later Anglian use of the sites at Sprouston and Doon Hill. It is unfortunate that Hope-Taylor did not explore, in greater detail, the position of Yeavering in pre-Anglian times and its relation to the immediate vicinity, namely the basin of the River Glen - which includes the Bowmont - and the Cheviot's lower slopes. At Doon Hill, the site can be related to the concentrations of crop-mark sites and the Anglian urbs at Dunbar (p 314) and the patterns and places of importance of most periods. At Sprouston, only the crop-marks of neighbouring defended settlements, of probably Prehistoric date, and the topography provide a background to it as a centre . The proximity of the later Medieval burgh and castle of Roxburgh, four

kilometres upstream and by some other fords - might well be worthy of further examination (Fig I.4). Alcock is satisfied that the first hall at Doon Hill was "a princely neuadd set within the appropriate llys " (1983.9), the latter term referring to a palisaded enclosure, like that of the later Anglian hall. It is not clear what relationship this had to the later Anglian urbs , which probably lay closer to the site of the later castle at Dunbar (p 316), like the crop-mark at Sprouston which lies away from the Anglian halls (Fig 5.2).

With regard to the problems of identifying the functions of the two earlier halls, the crop-mark at Sprouston is aligned with a ring-ditch of around ten metres diameter (Fig 5.2), while the largest and main halls at Yeavering were centred on a ring-ditch of 12 metres diameter (Hope-Taylor.1977 Fig 63) and the halls on Doon Hill lay just south of an undated concentration of post-holes, burnt patches and deposits of cremated bone (Fig 4.3), which will be discussed below (p 239). These factors raise the possibility of a ritual origin and function for the halls, for local assemblies, feasts or religious activities, though these aspects could have changed with the passage of time and the development of chiefs and native British aristocracy.

The essentially speculative nature of the above discussion is inevitable, as a result of the lack of work on the pre-Anglian Britons of North Britain, the plough erosion on Doon Hill and the problems of settlement-

development in the lower Tweed basin. Another site where importance during the Anglian period might have derived from earlier importance is Kirk Hill, St Abbs Head. The inclusion of this as a possible oppidum might appear to be strange, since there is no evidence to directly support this, not least in the lack of a defensive bank of Pre-historic date. Though Alcock's excavations showed that the turf bank around the hilltop was of Anglian date (1981a.234-5), the cultivated soil with a fragment of red samian ware and the rim of late Roman pottery (Robertson.1970 Table 6) show that the site was used in pre-Anglian times. The lack of a rampart could have been due to the sheer sides of the hill itself, making such a construction unnecessary. The concentration of settle-ment-remains around the area of the later monastery's estate (Fig I.8), most notably around the monastery itself and Ayton by the crossing over the Eye, imply native settle-ment in significant numbers before the Anglian period. The siting of the monastery on Kirk Hill by itself is an indication of the importance of the site and the vicinity, though the estate (pp 311-313) could represent the broad outlines of what had developed by the late eleventh Century. The reasons for the construction of the double-palisaded enclosure which underlay the turf rampart, in around 625-85 AD (Alcock.1981a.234)(Fig 7.10) might not have been recorded, but such a structure "built of oak beams with a wicker infilling of hazel, willow and birch", probably enclosing an area of up to 3 hectares, would hardly

have been built on a site of little importance. Though "probably built under Anglian patronage but in the Goddin tradition", to paraphrase Alcock (1983.7) its construction would have required some local ability, organisation and labour in order to make it possible and thus existing before the Angles. The role of the hill-top site in the pre-Anglian period and its relationship to the settlements in the vicinity, have yet to be explored by excavation. The nearby non-defensive stone-walled settlements which appear to overlie earlier defended ones have yet to be explored and the settlement-history of the largest one at Earns Heugh, Dunlaw, is worthy of study. In any case, Alcock has warned against making too much of details from a small excavation of a very large site in a complex and extensive vicinity (1981a.234).

The siting of the Anglian monastery at Melrose can be seen against the probable importance of the vicinity of Eildon Hill North, though the absence of any kind of datable evidence having been identified as coming from the site of Old Melrose means that its position or importance during the pre-Anglian period is not known. The siting of the monastery at Abercorn has always been difficult to explain, lying as it does so far away from any evidence of Anglian settlement. A possible reason for its siting lies across the Corn Burn, namely the 5 hectares of land where Abercorn Castle was established in later Medieval times (Fig 7.12). As with the mention of Kirk Hill in the list of oppida , it might seem odd since there is no

evidence known for settlement on the site in Prehistoric times, nor for any special importance. However, the analogy of the siting of the other Anglian monasteries in the Tweed-Forth area by already existing places of importance and dependent lands or settlements, as at Old Melrose and Coldingham, suggests that such an arrangement existed at Abercorn in pre-Anglian times. The siting, almost exactly half-way between the mouths of the Almond and Avon rivers, is interesting with regard to the discussions earlier in this section about the siting of oppida in relation to the topography of the vicinity. It may even have had some particular importance in relation to the Forth estuary, the settlements around it and communication between them, which might explain its choice as the site for the episcopate of the Lothians. This is speculation since at no site in the immediate vicinity of Abercorn has settlement before or during the Anglian period been proven, only the place-names give any implication of this.

Hope-Taylor's work on Yeavering and Alcock's on Kirk Hill have emphasised the lack of knowledge about the uses and importance of palisaded enclosures in the pre-Anglian period. There is more than a possibility that the "Great Enclosure" at Yeavering was a settlement and not vacant in the pre-Anglian period. Since Hope-Taylor only excavated a very small part of the interior (1977. 70-88) not much more can be said about it. Alcock has pointed out "the continuance, or more probably the revival

of palisaded forts in the area" (1979.136) and has cited the possible examples at Harehope by the Meldon Burn and Hogbridge near Peebles, both being in Peeblesshire. The former has an area of under a quarter hectare, while the latter has one of just over a third of a hectare, the factor apparently common to both being a bulbous loop at the entrance, as with the "Great Enclosure" at Yeavering. Since this detail is not definite at the Hogbridge site and it is as yet unexcavated and the occupation and date of the Harehope site is not clear, these might not seem the best subjects for discussion. Hill has remarked on the resemblance of the plan of the hut within the Harehope palisade to that of a hut on Traprain Law, which was of a definite late date (Hill.1982.29-30), so it could date to the pre-Anglian period. A large palisaded settlement at Mertoun Craigs in Northumberland, (NT 963496) has yielded fourth century Roman pottery (Jobey I 1981), so it could be claimed that non-defensive stone-walled settlements were not the only kinds of settlement-types in the Tweed-Forth area during the Roman period.

This lack of understanding of the background to the development of these palisaded enclosures is compounded by the lack of understanding of the "scooped settlements" or small homesteads like that at Crock Cleugh in the Bowmont Basin (RCAHMS.1956.348). As the discussion of the settlements which were possibly occupied at some date after the second or third centuries in the first few pages of this section shows, the major problem is a lack of

datable artefacts. Alcock has remarked that, in the Pictish areas, "both multivallate and bivallate forts of essentially Iron Age appearance were built or strengthened in the fifth and late centuries AD"(1983.7). Thus, though it is probable that settlement continued at Bonchester Hill or it was reoccupied (RCAHMS.1956.150-2), there is no definite evidence to prove this as being in the late Roman or early Medieval periods. Possible sherds of imported pottery, of Class "E", has only been identified at two sites, the Anglian monastery at Abercorn and the defended settlement at Craigs Quarry near Dirleton in East Lothian (Thomas.1981.21) and the use of the "Votadinian" pottery for dating purposes is limited (p.152) The fact that artefacts of later Roman origin and date have come from non-defensive stone-walled settlements overlying earlier defended ones, like Kaimes Hill or Hownam Rings (Robertson.1970 Fig 6) has already been noted. This does not necessarily mean that all the examples of these settlements were occupied in the later period, nor that occupation continued into the post-Roman and early Medieval periods.

As has been noted above (p 11) the fourth and fifth centuries were a time of a "climatic optimum". There are no indications known of what the effects were on native settlements and economy, if there were any. Jobey has identified and discussed possible evidence for population growth "in the area between the two walls" (1974), though there has been no complimentary work on

population development or differing densities between different parts of the Tweed-Forth area, in the Roman period or later.

In spite of these limits to inference, relationships have been noted between places of importance of both the pre-Anglian and Anglian periods, as at Doon Hill near Dunbar and Sprouston near Roxburgh. Alcock has written of certain "Early Historic Fortifications in Scotland": "The fortifications considered here seem to represent a new distribution of military power, turning their backs on earlier centres. By contrast, no fewer than 10 out of the 16 are also the sites of Medieval (and sometimes later) defences. In this sense, they foretell a new military and social order" (1981 .178-9). The examples discussed included Dunbar, Stirling Castle and Edinburgh, the former being the seat of the later Medieval Earl of Dunbar and March, and the latter two became the centres of large shires. Bede describes one important place, possibly Stirling, as urbs Giudi and the word urbs has been the subject of some recent work by Alcock, who has pointed out that it is used by Bede in connection with Dumbarton (I.12), Bamburgh (III.6,13,16) Coldingham (Life of St Cuthbert, 39) and by Eddius Stephanus in connection with Dunbar (38)(1983a.26-8). Alcock, like Barrow (1973.66) has concluded that this term refers more to the importance of these places in "social, political and economic terms" and their "function and status" than to their size or population. These places appear to have been the economic centres for communities over a wide area

and had probably been so since before the Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area. This is probably the case with Dumbarton; the two or more landing-places near Dunbar and the mouth of the East Lothian Tyne (p 41) and the position of Stirling at the lowest ford on the Forth, for the main route across the Forth, would seem to suggest that the other two were of similarly older importance. Alcock's excavation on Kirk Hill on St Abbs Head and this discussion would appear to make a similar case for the place, though they do not show where the possibly Roman-dressed stones, which were found in the later turf rampart, fit in.

It is this relationship of an apparently major settlement or fortified structure to the other neighbouring settlements and terrain, which could aid interpretation or dating of these "Dark Age Type" fortifications. The "nucleated fort" on Dalmahoy lies beside the 2.6 hectare settlement on Kaimes Hill (Fig I.16) where artefacts have been found which suggest occupation of a date later than the second century (Robertson.1980.Fig 6). The "Pictish fortification" on Peniel Heugh overlies an earlier bivallate enclosure of similar size (RCAHMS.1956.124-6) and lies at the topographic centre of the parish of Nisbet (Fig I.4) which appears to have had an early burial ground (p 359). The non-defensive stone-walled settlement overlying the bivallate defended settlement at Kirkton Hill near Cavers (NT 537124) is also at the centre of the block of land described in the Historia de S. Cuthberto as lying south of the Teviot and west of Jedburgh (p 74). These might appear to be more possib-

ilities or inferences though they do appear to represent recurrences of a pattern; a centre of a major fortification with dependent or topographically-related lesser settlements and a burial ground, either lying within a topographical unit like a river-valley or in a noticeable group of settlements. The appearance of such groupings on distribution-maps (Figs 4.1 and 1.10) should not be taken too much at face value since it represents neither all possible settlements of the Roman and later periods, nor those were definitely occupied contemporary to those in the same group .

Though the possible estates outlined in the Historia de S. Cuthberto and the early Scoto-Norman charters present examples of how groupings of settlements and their various connections had developed by and during the Anglian period, these were in the parts of the Tweed-Forth area where there was Anglian settlement and influence. Indications of what had developed or was developing in the parts west of Edinburgh or in the upper Tweed basin are more vague, with the exception of the Manor valley, as a result of Smith's work (1982.31-5). Not only was the Manor valley not open to pronounced Anglian influence, it was also free of later sub-division, unlike the Bowmont-Kale vicinity and has no record of pronounced later expansion of cultivation or settlement. The important details centre on the thirteen apparent lesser groupings of settlement-remains and boundaries, which are more than simply reminiscent of the twelve vills of the Bowmont

grant, mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto , the other twelve vills mentioned in the Coldingham grant of Edgar and the possible group of twelve mentioned in the grant of the shire of Berwick and the same charter (pp 82-84). As noted in this same section of the second chapter, this recurrence of the number twelve - or thirteen - cannot be mere coincidence. Kapelle has suggested that this was related to the months of the year (1979.79). It could also be suggested that these units of twelve settlements were only parts of larger groupings, the vills in the "shire" of Berwick were only part of the Tweed-Leader-White Adder block which is mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto . Similarly, the twelve vills in the Bowmont grant of Osuiu, mentioned in the same source, only cover under a half of the cultivable area in the Bowmont valley.

Davies' discussions of the structure of pre-Norman Welsh British society (1978.48) has shown that, in some parts of Wales by the ninth and tenth centuries, there were maenors or estates, of 13 trefi in upland areas, of 7 in lowland areas. The term tref , in this context meant "the essential working unit" of a maenor and by this later period, there were 12 maenolau plus 2 trefi in one commote (Davies.1982.43-4). This would seem to be convincing proof of the similarities between the Tweed-Forth area and pre-Norman Wales and the early origins of the basic unit of 12 or 13 vills for multiple-estates. This would be more than slightly rash since the documentary

evidence for these multiple-estates in the Tweed-Forth area relates to later periods and provide only the vaguest of details as to how they functioned or developed. Davies has also noted that "in the south-east (of Wales) the overwhelming trend of the ninth century and later evidence is to suggest the fragmentation of larger estates into small independent trefi" (1982.46). The details contained in the Historia de S. Cuthberto and the early Scotto-Norman charters do not allow for such specific interpretations. The whole subject of multiple-estates, their origins and development is in need of more critical study though in the absence of early or datable evidence to work with, it is difficult to see how this study could be taken much further. Kapelle's discussion of "The Structure of Northern Society" (1979.50-85), like Gregson's analysis of the probable multiple-estates of Annandale in Scotland and Gilsland in Cumbria (1982.49-80), show this in their reliance on what is recorded as having developed by later Medieval times. A multi-disciplinary approach is similarly hindered by a lack of datable artefacts or occupation of sites, and the techniques or costs of excavation and interpretation. There are also only vague and equivocal indications of settlement hierarchy or relationships within a maenor or its precursor or even the residence of the chief and settlements which were occupied contemporary to others. For such matters as inheritance and related sub-division of land and the extent of pasture there are no details available, as with what MacInnes has described as "the intangible system of alliances" between individ-

ual chiefs and their centres or related territories (1983. 222).

For example, there are various non-defended stone-walled settlements in the Bowmont valley or the vicinity of Coldingham (Figs 4.1 and I.8), but there is no evidence to connect them with the twelve vills mentioned in the later documents as being at both these parts of the Tweed-Forth area. The apparent separation between the two kinds of settlement, implied by the aforementioned map does not prove much, since the causes of this are open to various interpretations. This might show decay or settlement-shift or it could show division of the land; there is also the possibility that the named vills were sub-centres for other settlements. Though all the authorities cited in this discussion are agreed that these estates probably had their origins in the "ordering of sites within land-holding units", as Clack has termed them (1982.395), they are not prepared to take inferences any further. This does not mean that study of them could not be taken any further, as Smith's study of the Manor valley shows what can be done with what evidence is available.

The details contained with the Historia de S. Cuthberto are particularly important since they possibly represent the pre-Anglian British arrangements (pp 72-73). The 12 vills of the Bowmont valley could be interpreted as part of the Kale-Bowmont land-block (Fig I.2), though this block is only conjectural and the vills themselves might have been part of a larger arrangement. The origins

of the named vills are not known, they could have been British ones which had been renamed by the Angles or they could have been established by the Angles on vacant land. Yetholm (Gaet-ham) and Clifton are possibly examples of the latter and it could be assumed that Yetholm was the centre of this estate. This is not adequate proof and it is easier to assume details than prove them, not least since the exact locations of some of the named places are not agreed. Nor is it agreed that they were all settlements or that some of them were merely pieces of land or how they related to settlement-remains, like Eltherburna to the non-defensive stone-walled settlement at Old Halterburnhead (RCAHMS.1956.456-7).

Another interesting detail in this source is the reference to very large parts of the Tweed-Forth area, such as the land between the Leader, Tweed and White Adder rivers or the land between the limits "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth". As with the piece of land south of the Teviot and related to Jedburgh, which was an estate of the Bishop of Lindisfarne before the mid-ninth century (p 75), these account for territory in which it would be possible to have several estates like that named in the Bowmont valley. They could represent the next stage of settlement or estate hierarchy, several lesser estates connected in some way to another, more important centre or chief. It would be tempting to connect the first block with the centre at or near Eildon Hill North, the second with Traprain Law or Dunbar and the third with the

non-defensive stone-walled settlement which overlies an earlier defended one at Kirkton Cavers (RCAHMS.1956.105-7) or a major fortification like the Dunion, Rubers Law or Bonchester Hill. It would be similarly tempting to see the twelve named places around Coldingham, mentioned in Edgar's 1095 charter as being related to the three possible groupings of settlement-remains, around Ayton and Bunkle Edge, on the east side of the Pease Burn gorge and west of St Abbs Head in arable land (Fig I.8). The problem is in proving the connection and the parish-boundaries are equally equivocal indicators, since they relate to later arrangements and limits of property. As Taylor has remarked, on the subject of settlement-patterns in pre-Saxon Britain: "...when one moves into periods where archaeological materials and techniques are the only forms of evidence, it becomes impossible either to ascertain the true pattern of settlement or to recover the types of settlement with any certainty" (1978. 109). Though this documentary evidence is very good, compared with that for other parts of what is now Scotland, artefactual or structural evidence that might relate it to settlements, groups of settlements or even the residences of chieftains, of the pre-Anglian Britons have not yet been identified.

These documents provide apparent evidence for possible models of native British settlement patterns before the Anglian takeover. Gregson has listed several criteria for identifying possible multiple-estates: a group of

townships or settlements in an estate which is so recorded, with such parts as a minster or religious focus; a lord and his residence which is recorded in the archaeological remains; a three-tier hierarchy of personnel, bondmen who would do the most onerous service, freedmen who would do lighter service and a "ministerial" group who could be the thanes or drengs , who had apparently administrative roles and "a highly-developed service network" (1982.51-2). Most of what is listed would only be recorded at a later date and is relevant to the Anglian period. The remains of pre-Anglian Christianity will be discussed in the next section of this chapter; these remain the only datable pre-Anglian remains of native British origin. Apart from these, the only criteria in the list which could be dated to the pre-Anglian period are those non-Anglian in origin namely the possible chieftain's residences or "Dark Age" fortifications and place-names. The examples of Edinburgh, Dunbar and, possibly Giudi could be seen in terms of the word urbs being attached to the latter two but there is no early evidence for any dependent land or settlements. It could be suggested that since the monastery of Tyninghame was not established until after 756 (p 74), the territory bounded by "from the Lammermuirs thence to Eskmouth" could have originally been the land which was dependent on Dunbar or its British predecessor. This is an argument by default since there would appear to be no other place which could have been another centre for this substantial block of land. It could even be argued that Dunbar owed its importance to the Anglian takeover and was

only a centre for its immediate vicinity in the pre-Anglian period.

The warfare which accompanied the Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area would inevitably have brought disruption, which could have led to changes in settlements, their importance and their economies. Details are inevitably lacking, though Alcock has discussed written and artefactual evidence for North British and Bernician Anglian warfare being almost completely an aristocratic concern (1981c.175-80, 1983.10-11). Though this does not exclude the probability that warfare would have included devastation of settlements and fields of non-noble Britons. For instance, if urbs Giudi was Stirling, the passage of Penda and his allies there, in pursuit of Oswiu, would have been through the Lothians (p 262). It is hard to believe that their passage would have left the area unscathed, especially if the inhabitants were subjects of or allied to the Angles.

It would also be tempting to try to follow the indications of social relationships given in the accounts of warfare into the social and economic environment. As before, the evidence is lacking and emphasises the most obvious gap in knowledge of the pre-Anglian Britons, of the peasantry, their relationships with the nobility and with each other. As Davies has concluded, in the context of what is now south-east Wales, "the existence of untied, completely free peasantry is neither demonstrable nor deniable" (1978.47). The latter phrase, "neither demon-

strable nor deniable" neatly sums up much of the discussion of this section. It could be argued that the process of Anglian conquest would have strengthened the connections between the chiefs and over-chiefs and given a greater degree of unity to parts of the Tweed-Forth area. This would follow from the assumption that Anglian control of the area would have depended on stronger links between the Angles and their British under-chiefs and lesser persons, in short a more active and obvious exercise of power. The nature and strength of the possible links between the nobles on the various levels of the pre-Anglian British hierarchy of power, is an area of study without reliable evidence.

The fact that the land-blocks and units described in the Historia de S. Cuthberto and the early Scoto-Norman charters relate to natural or topographical parts of the Tweed-Forth, like the lower Bowmont valley or the land "from the Lammermuirs then to Eskmouth" is only to be expected. As was touched upon in the second part of the second chapter, the topography of the Tweed-Forth area and parts of it, would have affected the relationships between the different communities and their chiefs. With this in mind, it might be possible to reconstruct, from very little reliable evidence, hypothetical sub-kingdoms and their individual units or lesser groupings of settlements. The positions of the so-called oppida, both in relation to recorded settlements of the period

and the topography, was remarked on earlier in this section, without coming to any reliable or really useful conclusions. Though it might be reasonably concluded that topography, like social and economic factors, as well as intangible tribal or political ones, was responsible for the development of the multiple-estate from earlier groupings or arrangements, there is a similar lack of evidence for this development. The later parish centres like Cramond, Carriden and Inveresk have been interpreted as being important due to their being located by landing-places (pp $^{39-}_{40}$), but it is not possible to assess their importance during the pre-Anglian period. Similarly, the site of Kirkliston by the probable crossing over the Almond and the site of Linlithgow by the junction of several routes, could be important for the same reason.

The basic problem of this suggestion is proving the importance of long-distance trade or strategic positioning as factors making a place more important in this pre-Anglian period. In other words, the importance of these four places in the period, for these reasons, can not be proved positively. An economic basis to lordship, as implied by the studies of Alcock and Campbell on the use of <u>urbs</u> (pp $^{69-}_{70}$) with a chief or noble owing his power to being situated by an economically important place like a route junction or landing-place, can be implied but not easily proven when there is no other evidence. Inveresk was a major possession of the Abbey of Dunfermline, a donation of Malcolm III of before 1094, and had

seven related settlements: Inveresk maior , Inveresk minor , Smeaton, Carberry, Cousland, Wymet and Newton by 1150 (Lawrie.CCIX Dunfermline Cartulary, No 157). Even though it was the site of a Roman fort and settlement and Davies has recorded that a lowland British maenor have seven trefi (1978.48), it does not prove that Malcolm III gave Dunfermline a surviving British maenor (Fig I.19). Inveresk could have become associated with these places within the lands of Dunfermline. The mention of Eskmuthe in the Historia de S. Cuthberto does not say whether a settlement or the mouth of the river is meant. It could be suggested that the position of Inveresk or its predecessor on the boundary between the lands of Tyninghame and Dunbar and the lands of others, with a landing-place, was important. Between the departure of the Romans, in the second century AD, and the writing of the charters in the mid-twelfth century, there was time enough for changes which could have led to and detracted from Inveresk's importance. The archaeological record in the form of the long-cist cemeteries (Fig I.12) implies importance for the vicinity (p 226), but does not necessarily support the suppositions.

There is an undeniable temptation to use the model provided by the multiple-estate system of settlement and economy, in attempting to attach it to a site of known or probable early Medieval importance and interpreting settlement-remains or place-names in the vicinity as the dependent settlements. The later Medieval documents or

the fortifications of "Dark Age type" and some of the place-names provide some possibilities, though no more. The fundamental problem with the multiple-estate model is that studies and applications of recorded examples have been mostly within the context of historical studies. There have been no comprehensive critiques of the multiple-estate model in archaeological terms; Smith's study of the Manor basin (1982.31-35, 1984.190-2) is the exception. There was obviously some kind of economic and social organisation among the pre-Anglian Britons of the Tweed-Forth area; the pre-Roman defended settlements, field-systems and linear earthworks are proof that organisation had existed in some form since before the Christian era. It would be expecting too much of the evidence, discussed in the course of this section, that it gave a reliable picture of the social and economic arrangements of the pre-Anglian Britons.

In his study of "Dark Age Economics", Hodges has referred to two types of economic system, which are relevant to this discussion: an extended network system where exchange is direct and wholly uncommercialised, in usually independent tribal societies, and a bounded system where exchange is direct and uncommercialised in feudal or chiefdom contexts and where a few scarce resources exist (1982.16-17). Post-Roman trade in the British areas was within "a network of isolated nodules", a localised economy with artefacts or objects being moved only among neighbouring or allied groups (Ibid.30). There were also

"institutional centres which functioned as assembly-points, such as Yeavering" (Ibid.49) and two types of settlement, a hamlet of two to four farms and a major village (Ibid.135). Hodges was clearly thinking of the multiple-estate and these details almost exactly resemble those discussed by Davies, in the context of the exchange of goods and services in early Medieval Wales (1982.50-8). Davies has also made the most succinct criticism of the tendency to apply the model too widely: "What is less clear, since the evidence is so fragmentary and is highly questionable, is the universal applicability and uniformity of this framework and the invariable inclusion of all its distinctive characteristics. We do not have any evidence of the nature of the association between trefi . Indeed, since the model must be essentially a fiscal one, it implies a consistency over many centuries in the machinery of proprietorship which appears extremely unlikely in a period of considerable political change; and a consistency in the units of ownership which seems equally unlikely in a period which saw certain climatic and apparently demographic alteration and therefore, presumably some profound agrarian change. Can both land use and political organisation have been so static, so unchanging? The effect of inheritance, at least, would have inaugurated some modification. On present evidence, then, the universality of the system is far from proven and it remains an open problem in most areas of Wales" (1982.45-6).

In spite of these negative assessments, the fact is that the multiple-estate system of social and economic arrangements is the most likely model for the pre-Anglian Britons of the Tweed-Forth area. The evidence so far discussed only allows the possibility that the later recorded examples had their origins in the pre-Anglian period and that these may have resembled the later ones or parts of them. The two types of economic system, referred to on the previous page, might not be quite compatible with the possible model of the Gododdin, as a group of topographically related chiefdoms, of lesser territories and chiefdoms, who acknowledged an overlord of some kind, discussed in the course of this chapter. This presumes that the structure of the Gododdin was similar to that of sub-Roman Wales and in the absence of any contemporary evidence concerning the nature of a chieftain's power and his relationship to a superior. Such a structure would lie between the two types of economic system, with semi-independent groupings within a loosely-bounded system. Thus it might be suggested that the Gododdin or its constituent parts were in a transitory state, incorporating elements of the arrangements which existed in Roman times or earlier along with elements which would become characteristic of the Medieval period, such as the multiple-estate.

This transition would account for another factor that must be taken into account, the lack of evidence for a tribal elite in the form of prestige goods. MacInnes

has commented on the lack of evidence for an elite in what is now East Lothian, before the Roman period (1983. 181). Apart from the silver chains whose study has been neglected and the penannular brooch of fourth century type which was found at Barnton near Cramond (Fowler.1963. 100), there are only stray finds of brooches like that from the homestead at Crock Cleugh (Ibid.119) or the ring-headed pin from a midden near North Berwick (Ibid.151) and the zoomorphic-headed pin from the layer of blown sand overlying the floor of the Roman bath-house at Cramond (Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh No. AR 340/78). These could represent later deposition and are not reliable indications of nobility. The signs of the nobles could have been in perishable materials, or have not been identified because of the lack of archaeological study of the pre-Anglian Britons of North Britain.

Without the parallels which can be made with early Medieval Wales, as a result of Davies' various works, the possible model of the multiple-estate economy and the indications provided by the remains of pre-Anglian Christianity in the Tweed-Forth area, the evidence discussed in this section would be of limited use. It is also fairly obvious that the subject of British settlements and economy in North Britain from the second and third centuries AD until the Anglian takeover, is one which needs much more study and relevant excavation. The economic consequences of the end of Roman occupation in the second century or the changes in frontier policy, is another

worthwhile topic of study, though outwith the concerns of this work. What happened to the Britons of Strathclyde and the westerly parts of the Tweed-Forth area, during the time of the Anglian Occupation and the developments or changes up to the tenth and eleventh centuries, is also worthy of further investigation.

As will be discussed in the next section, the only direct and reasonably reliable evidence concerning the pre-Anglian Britons of the Tweed-Forth area is in the remains of early Christianity. There are few reliable conclusions which can be drawn, on the basis of what has been considered in this section. This would be inevitable if, as has been suggested on the previous page, the area was in a transitional state, between the society of the farmsteads and defended settlements of the pre-Roman period and that of lordly fortifications and hamlets or villages of the early Medieval period. This is something of an oversimplification but the primary concern of this section is with what existed in the area before the Anglian take-over; these broader trends or details are more relevant than would be for a specific study of the pre-Anglian Britons. It is most unfortunate that the place-names and historical documents of British origin and concerning the area similarly give little reliable or datable information.

What is definite is that the Angles took over an area, its inhabitants and arrangements, which had been developing in various ways, since Neolithic times. This was, very probably, an "organised landscape", with fields attached to

settlements, as at Blakebillend on the Slitrig Water (RCAHMS.RX/3499) and extensive stretches of pasture or waste land which included large patches of woodland and had boundary-marking earthworks. Though some of these settlements were still inhabited during the later Roman period, the society and economy characterised by the non-defensive stone-walled settlements was undergoing changes over a long period of time. These appear to have been within the older land-holding units, at least in the upland parts like the Manor valley and the Bowmont, though there was more room for expansion or flexibility in the lowland parts of the Tweed-Forth area. The social and economic organisation was probably in the form of a looser or more primitive form of multiple-estate, both in the smaller and larger land-holding units. This economic and social system of hierarchy, aided by the topography, was probably giving rise to an almost pyramidal political or tribal structure. This might have been the ordinary native peasantry acknowledging a chief who had practical powers over a unit such as a river-valley; in turn he acknowledged an over-chief who commanded several units, such as in the Kale-Bowmont vicinity or the Leader-Tweed-White Adder block. These persons would have wielded the real power, the overlord of the Gododdin probably was merely the titular "king" of the whole area. If he was resident at Din Eidyn , he would have been practical "overlord" of the territory which was dependent on that centre alone, since his primary function

would have been military (Davies.1982.139). This would fit the image of Mynyddog Mwynfawr and his summoning of the British and Pictish nobles for the Catraeth expedition, mentioned in the Gododdin poem.

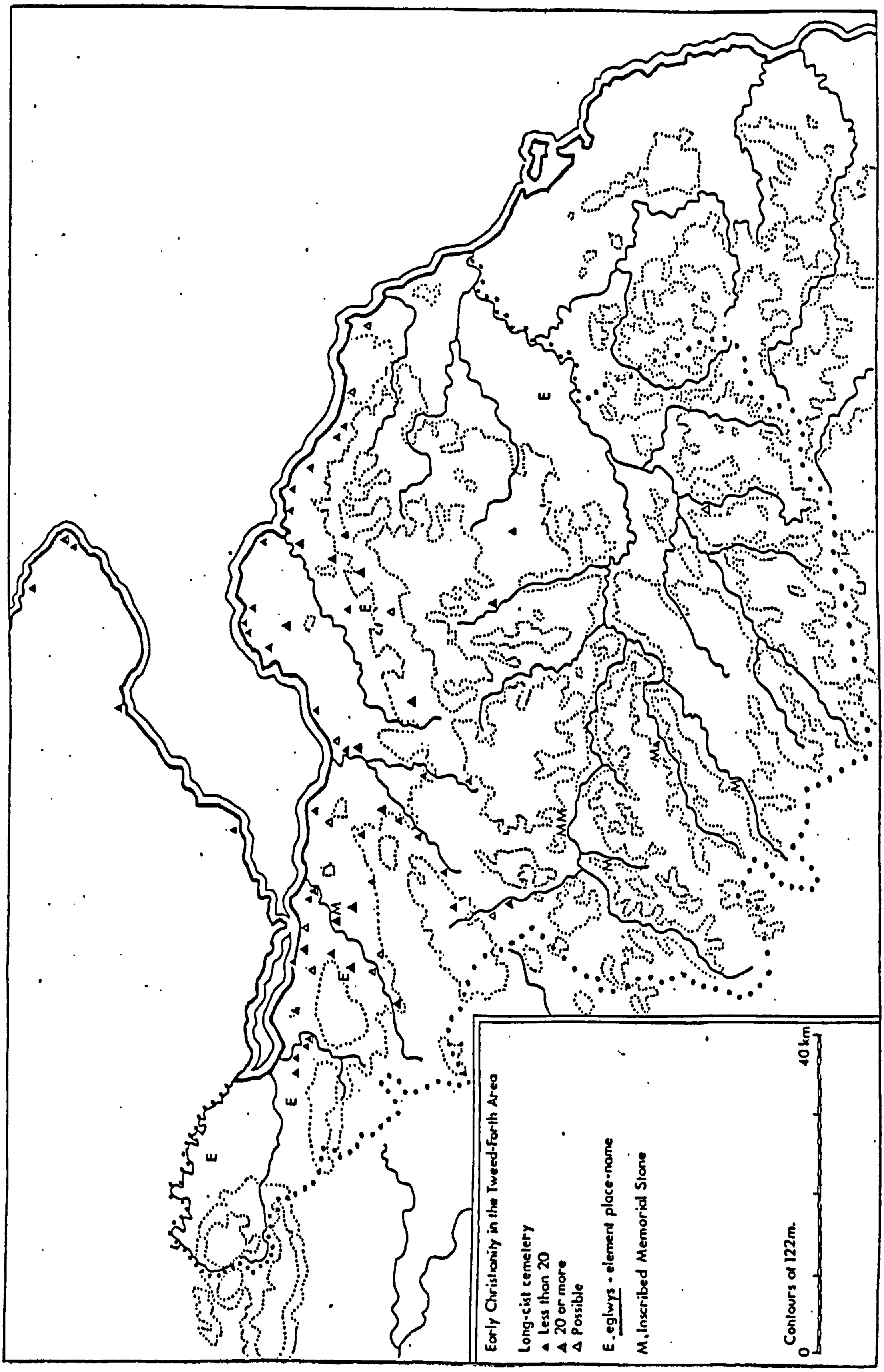
The silver chains and the Traprain Treasure show the presence of a British elite though their residences have not been satisfactorily identified. The material record of the pre-Anglian Britons, of all classes, is poor, with no really distinctive artefacts and possibly reflects a greater use of perishable materials like bone, leather and wood. The Neolithic artefacts and possible hall by the early Medieval crop-mark complex at Sprouston, the possibly early property-boundaries in the Manor valley and the coincidences of important sites and settlements of Prehistoric and Medieval dates all indicate continuity of site-use and settlement-patterns. Changes would appear to have taken place in accordance with established limits, settlement-shift within land-holding units which possibly provided the basis for later parishes or larger estates (pp 221-2).The poor state of knowledge about the people and their material culture or settlements does not necessarily reflect their actual material culture or settlements. The possibilities are that the society, settlements, economy and material culture of the post-Roman Britons were initially not too dissimilar from that of the Roman period. By the Sixth and Seventh centuries, however, the possibilities are that in many ways, the society, settlements, economy and material culture of the

pre-Anglian Britons were closer to those of the Picts and Anglian settlers in Britain.

2) Early Christianity

In his discussion of the Gododdin poem, Jackson remarked on the references to Christianity, that in spite of the references to praying at altars and churches and to the Holy Trinity, there is no actual mention of the Christian God (1969.37). Nor is there any indication that Christianity had any effect on the thinking and actions of the Britons involved. The problems of using this source have already been discussed (pp 52-7), but this detail is especially interesting, since it would seem to imply that churches and altars were familiar to the Britons of the Tweed-Forth area by the late sixth century. Thomas has proposed that Christianity in what is now southern Scotland was the result of activity centred on the Solway and the post-Roman British kingdom of Rheged (1980.285-80). The "alpha and omega" motif on one of the belt-buckles which was found in the Traprain silver hoard, could have been worn by someone prior to being given to the inhabitants of Traprain Law and only formed part of the hoard of silver which found its way to the site. This is not to exclude the possibility of it having been in use in the settlement on Traprain Law, merely to refer to the unstratified nature of the hoard and its contents.

This is not to say that evidence for pre-Anglian Christianity among the Britons of the Tweed-Forth area is lacking in quantity; the principal problems are the per-


E
E
E
E
E
M
M
M
M
Early Christianity in the Tweed-Forth Area
Long-cist cemetery
▲ Less than 20
▲ 20 or more
Δ Possible
E. eglwys - element place-name
M. Inscribed Memorial Stone
Contours at 122m.
0
40 km

ennial ones of dating and thorough study. In the first part of the third chapter of this study, reference was made to a group of place-names which appeared to incorporate the Brittonic element eglwys , which literally meant 'a Christian group' (p 105). Thomas has emphasised the fact that at none of the examples which have been identified, is there any archaeological evidence to support the "strong hint of antiquity" (1980.262-5). There is a fair period of time between the pre-Anglian Britons and the writing of the Scoto-Norman charters. There was a similar period between the possible time when the place-name of Eccles in Berwickshire was formed and 1145, when the nunnery was established there (Cowan and Easson.1976.146). This importance, which led to the place being the centre of lands, might have had no connection with the eglwys -element place-name. The present site of the parish-centre and the nunnery ruins is in a natural hollow and might not be the original site of the place which bore the name. It does lie in a position which is almost equally distant from the upland around Hume, the land around the Tweed and that around the Hirsel. In other words, it lies at a suitable point for the occupants of the settlements in these latter vicinities to meet, for religious activities.

The possible example of Eaglescarnie, in East Lothian, does lie beside the earthwork enclosure of the Chesters (Fig I.13) which the first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1857) shows as a sub-rectangular structure, enclosing about

three hectares of ground. Barrow has suggested that the nearby Anglian settlement of Bolton, which has a bothl -element which could be suggestive of importance (p 132), was sited because of the importance related to the eglwys -element place-name (1973.35). This is conjecture upon conjecture, since there is no evidence for pre-Norman importance associated with Bolton. This does not exclude the possibility of importance, since Barrow has proposed that the eglwys -element place-names were related to early estates or social and economic arrangements and the pattern is present at Eaglescarnie and Bolton. This pattern would seem to be especially evident in the examples of Eccles Breac or Falkirk and the lordship of Callander (Barrow.1973.37-8) and Eggles Ninian or St Ninians and the lordship of Stirling (Ibid.39) (Fig I.17). With the other possible examples of eglwys -element place-names, there would appear to be no such similarities. Ecclesmachan in West Lothian does not appear to have a lordship in association, nor does the questionable "Eccles Cairn" near Yetholm (Ibid.1983,5,11).

The examples of Falkirk and St Ninians lie well away from the recorded Anglian centres of power and imply that the lack of overall similarities between the possible examples of this place-name were due to developments since the pre-Anglian period. The places with the eglwys -element place-names might have all originated as meeting-places for Christian Britons, though local developments

were the causes of the apparently differing results, by the twelfth century. Since this is place-name evidence, the lack of known examples near Edinburgh or in the more northerly part of East Lothian or in the Teviot basin, could be due to changes of names. The similarities in the literal meaning of the Brittonic eglwys and the Old English cirice have been touched on above (p 136). This could mean that the examples of the latter element represent eglwys -element places, which were changed or were established at later dates. This is the problem, that Christianity and the practice of it differed between parts of the Tweed-Forth area, the eglwys -element place-names could merely represent the parts of the area where it was better organised, compared to other parts. The example of Eccles in Berwickshire would appear to fit the single land-block mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto , the Tweed-White Adder-Leader example, just as the Eccles Cairn could fit the land-grant on the Bowmont, which is mentioned in the same document (p 73). It would also appear to be natural to regard Ecclesmachan as originating as the meeting-place for the Britons who inhabited the land between the Almond and Avon rivers. Similarly, Falkirk could have originated in relation to the land between the Carron and Forth rivers. These three examples could owe their survival and continuing importance to their lying away from the areas of Anglian influence and settlement. As Barrow has pointed out, they more closely resemble the possible examples of

eglwys -element place-names which have been identified north of the Forth (1973.36-7, 60-4), becoming minster churches serving large parishes and related to lordships. This would be a natural development from an early Christian meeting-place for communities in a topographically distinct part of the Tweed-Forth area, which might have developed into a land-block of the kind which is mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto . This evidence is not very impressive and the distribution of the possible examples, implying a relationship with a large area and these later Medieval developments reveal very little about the pre-Anglian period.

In the third chapter of this study (p 108), it was suggested that Peebles, in the upper Tweed basin, was the equivalent of an eglwys -element place-name, since it could have been a meeting-place. It is situated at the meeting of routes based on the Eddleston, Manor and Glensax Water valleys and the Tweed, by a piece of wide flat ground, to the west of the later Medieval burgh. In 1261 an Early Christian inscribed memorial stone was found where the later Cross Kirk was constructed and a second one was found in a garden on the same side of the Eddleston Water. The former bore the inscription LOCUS SANCTI NICOLAE EPISCOPI (RCAHMS.1967.176-7) and the latter the inscription NEITANI SACERDOS (Steer.1969. 127-9). In the same paper Steer points out that the terms episcopus and sacerdos were almost interchangeable in the pre-Anglian period, referring to some British

cleric of significant importance. He also remarked that the former inscription, if it has been faithfully recorded, would date it to the fifth or sixth centuries, while the latter would be dated to the seventh or eighth centuries. The former stone is lost and the second one only possibly comes from the vicinity of the Cross Kirk. Duncan has suggested that the 'NICOLAI was a mis-reading of what could have been 'NINIAI (1981.32) and Steer has referred to the possibility that the stone might have been a later Medieval forgery. If the stone is genuine, it would appear to be evidence for pre-Anglian British religious organisation, which could have lasted into the dates contemporary with the Anglian church. The stones could also imply a burial-ground at or in the vicinity of the Cross Kirk; in the part of Peebles which bears the interesting name of Old Town , yet distinct from the burgh which grew up in the vicinity of the later Medieval castle, on the east side of the Eddleston Water. It could be concluded that the west side of the Eddleston Water was the site of the "Place of the Tents", for meetings and religious activities, with a burial-ground in association. Suitably, the later Medieval minster church of St Andrews was established before 1119 in the area of the Old Town , with its subsidiary chapels of Manor and Eddleston (Cowan.1967. 162).

Manor was the site of the discovery of another Early Christian inscribed memorial stone, in a drystane dyke near

the chapel of St Gorgian in 1890. It simply refers to two Britons, CONINIA and ERTIRIA and has been dated by Jackson to the early to mid-sixth century (RCAHMS. 1967.176). In his important study of early Medieval settlement in the Manor valley, I M Smith has pointed out that St Gorgian was a late-Roman martyr and the dedication of the chapel to him could be an indication of its antiquity, possibly contemporary to the inscribed memorial stone (1982.34). The commemoration of this Mediterranean saint in the comparative remoteness of the Manor valley is odd, the question of dating could be answered by excavation of the site of the chapel (NT 192307).

The enigmatic orans figure from a former chapel site at Over Kirkhope, on the upper Ettrick valley, in Selkirkshire, is unfortunately undated and could have been carved at any date prior to the twelfth century (RCAHMS. 1957.69). There is local tradition that it was only one of several similarly carved stones which were found when the old chapel site was being demolished in around 1800, but it was the only one which was not broken up for dyke-building material (Information, courtesy W Eliot, Selkirk, 1983). In the Liddle Water valley, which lies outside the Tweed-Forth area, another Early Christian inscribed memorial stone was found, mentioning CARANT who was son of CUPITIAUN . It came from the bank of the Liddle Water, without any apparent association and has been dated, by its inscription, by Jackson to the fifth or sixth Centuries (RCAHMS.1956.89).

What is important about this class of monument is that the examples show not only Christianity in the vicinities in the pre-Anglian period, but also organisation, stone-carving skills, and persons who would have had these carved and set up, by those who could make them. The most important inscription is on the example from Yarrow by the Yarrow Water, which records two PRINCIPES, NUDD and DUMNOGEN, who were the sons of LIBERALIS. Jackson has dated the inscription to the fifth to sixth centuries (RCAHMS.1957.110-13), but the problem is, as with all the inscriptions, finding the residences of the people who were commemorated in them. There is no trace of a dinas at Old Tinnis, which lies further up the Yarrow valley but the stone does lie in a long-cist cemetery of at least nine cists, which was among some burial-remains of Bronze Age date and type (RCAHMS.1957.113-4). The possibility is that the burial-ground had been in use for a long time before the Early Christian period and was related to settlements over a wide area, a sort of communal cemetery. This is implied by the routes which passed by the site and could show tradition and importance of a place surviving settlement-shift and the coming of Christianity.

The other question is whether this Christianity affected more than just the British nobility, some of whose names are recorded on the memorial stones. The strangely isolated example of an Early Christian inscribed memorial stone of the "Catstane" which lies beside the Almond in

Midlothian is in a large long-cist cemetery. No other memorial stones are known in the Lothians and it would seem to have been carved in the late fifth or early Sixth Century (Rutherford and Ritchie.1974), which would also make it the earliest known example. It commemorated VETTA who was the daughter of VICTRICIUS and, like the others was set up by a water course and where there was a natural meeting of routes of communication. The reasons for the setting-up of these memorial stones is not clear; I M Smith is of the opinion that they were markers, both of burial-grounds and territories of distinctive tribal groupings (1982.34). They would appear to occur singly, by watercourses and routes and widely apart, with all but one of the known examples occurring in the upper Tweed basin (Fig 4.4). This could represent local differences in the ways of commemorating the dead, though there could have been other memorials, of wood, which have not survived. Though the examples of the "Catstane" and the Yarrow stone show that these were associated with burial-grounds, the other examples are less certain in their associations and the sites of the possibly associated early cemeteries. A Bronze Age cist was found with the inscribed stone on the site of the Cross Kirk at Peebles (RCAHMS.1967,176) though no exploration is recorded at the site, as at St Gorgian's chapel in the Manor valley. Though the presence of these artefacts implies a great deal about the vicinity and settlements which could be associated, they and the places where they were found need much

more study and investigation.

The same could be said of the most substantial group of evidence for pre-Anglian Christianity in the Tweed-Forth area, the long-cist cemeteries. In spite of the considerable numbers which have been found, identified and usually destroyed, by quarrying or agricultural activity, there has been no systematic study of all known examples. Henshall's excavation of the cemetery at Newfarm near Lasswade in Midlothian and her subsequent examination of the evidence for other known examples (1956) has not really been followed up. The work by Proudfoot at Hallow Hill cemetery, in Fife, between 1980 and 1982 (pers.Comm: 1983) shows that some burials were of pre-Christian date, in a cemetery. The "Catstane" and Yarrow stone provide useful associations which show that the burials were of a sub-Roman date and possibly with Christian rituals. Similarly, the radiocarbon dates which came from material discovered during Cowie's excavations of the cemetery associated with the "Catstane", imply that the place was in use between the sixth and eighth centuries AD (Cowie.1978.199-201). The problem is in applying these details to the possible cemeteries like that at St Michael's Knowe at Coldingham which is described as "many British graves" (Wood.1902. 128-9); that at Windymains near Humbie in East Lothian which is described as "hundreds of graves" (Forman.1860. 50-2); and that at Bridge End near Mid Calder which was described as "innumerable quantities of sandstone coffins" in the Ordnance Survey Name Book (1853.No 9 p 38, 51).

The fact that "a small sword" was also mentioned in the account concerning the last group, could mean that some of the cists were of Bronze Age origin and date, as at Yarrow (RCAHMS.1957.110) and at Addinston by the Leader (Thomas.1971.53-4). Thus, much of the information concerning long-cist cemeteries is unreliable and too brief to be satisfactory evidence for pre-Anglian British funerary practices. Indeed, it is only the knowledge that the Bronze Age cists tended to occur in groups of four or less that allows the identification of the three examples quoted above, as being possibly long-cist cemeteries.

The origins of the long-cist cemeteries are not clear. The typical kind of burials of the pre-Christian periods were probably like those uncovered outside the defended settlement at Broxmouth near Dunbar. These were six in number and simple inhumations, which yielded radiocarbon dates comparable to the phases of occupation of the settlement (Hill.1982a.179-80). It would seem to be natural to assume that the Britons, like their predecessors, buried their dead in ground near their settlements. The occurrence of cist burials of Bronze Age date has been referred to on this page as possible evidence for a particular place being a traditional burial-ground for a considerable period of time. The organised arrangement of burials in rows or "strings" of burials could be a consequence of Roman influence and the apparent Romanophile tendencies of the British aristocracy (S Halliday.

Pers.Comm.1983).

The division between cemeteries of twenty or more cists and those with less than twenty, is somewhat arbitrary, since none of the possible examples have been thoroughly or properly excavated. That by the "Catstane" had been interfered with before Cowie's excavation (1977) and Henshall was not able to excavate all the area at Newfarm, Lasswade, (1956) where long-cists had been found. The main reason for this division is the probability that the cemeteries of more than twenty cists could have been common burial grounds for more than one settlement, while those of less than twenty burials could have been of individual settlements. Henshall has remarked that "a group of twenty families...would only require eight generations" to account for the number which her excavations uncovered at Newfarm (1956.260). These larger cemeteries, with the exception of that at Windymains, all occur in river-valleys and usually beside the rivers themselves (Fig 4.4) which would seem to support the generally accepted inference that the land in the river-valleys was where most of the settlement of the period existed.

The apparent association of the cemetery at "Harestanesfield" with the defended settlement at the Chesters, Drem (Henshall.1956.282-3) (Fig I.11), or the cemetery at Windymains with the defended settlement at Dodridge Law (Ibid.), (Fig I.13) raises the matter of what information this class of evidence can give concerning the pre-

Anglian Britons. The smaller cemeteries could represent those of settlements, where religious and funerary activities were localised; or they could represent an older phase than that represented by the large cemeteries, which might have been established where and when there was organisation over a large area and more than one settlement. It is possible that the larger cemeteries were related to vicinities where there was a relatively larger population; the lack of accurate dating material means that either of these inferences are possible.

There is an intriguing correspondence between the larger long-cist cemeteries and later parishes; there is one each within the parishes of Cramond, Liston, Gogar, Mid Calder and possibly Livingston, where it lies on the opposite side of the River Almond (Fig I.16). In the charter of Duncan II, relating to the land associated with Tyninghame, in East Lothian, one of the vills is Knowes (Fig 7.14), where a cemetery of "over 5000" was found (Hist. Bwk. Nat. Clvb. Vol 10 1884.464-5). This could represent another example, as could the possible cemetery at St Michaels Knowe at Coldingham (p 218), in relation to the lands associated with the Anglian monastery of Colodaesbyrig and the cemetery at Addinston in relation to the settlements around Carfrae and the upper Leader valley (Fig I.1). As with the "great number of cists" which the Ordnance Survey Name Book of 1856 recorded as having been found at Paulswell in the parish of West Linton in Peeblesshire (XXII.48) the implication

is that these cemeteries were those for the settlements within a certain part of the river valley, the boundaries of which became crystallised in later Medieval times as parish boundaries. All the examples cited above lie on both sides of an important watercourse, with the exception of Livingston, which lies just north of the River Almond. This raises the matter of how much later developments would have affected the crystallisation of these boundaries and how much of the pre-Anglian boundaries were preserved in those of the later parishes. The cemetery at Newfarm near Lasswade does not seem to lie in relation to any later parish boundaries (Fig I.12), though it does lie beside the important site of Lasswade which became an important possession of the see of St Andrews in later Medieval times (Cowan.1967.138) and Newbattle which became the site of a Cistercian monastery in 1140 (Cowan and Easson.1976.77).

The fact that the cemetery of twenty-four cists at "Potknowe", Wyndford, lay on the immediate other side of the Niddry Burn from Ecclesmachan (Primrose.1901), could provide further proof of an Early Christian origin for the latter place. In the previous section of this chapter, it was remarked that the suitable structure of an early Medieval estate would have included a communal burial-ground, though the number of settlements, lordship-centre and stretches of cultivated land could have changed in the passage of time. What these major long-cist cemeteries would seem to provide are examples of the

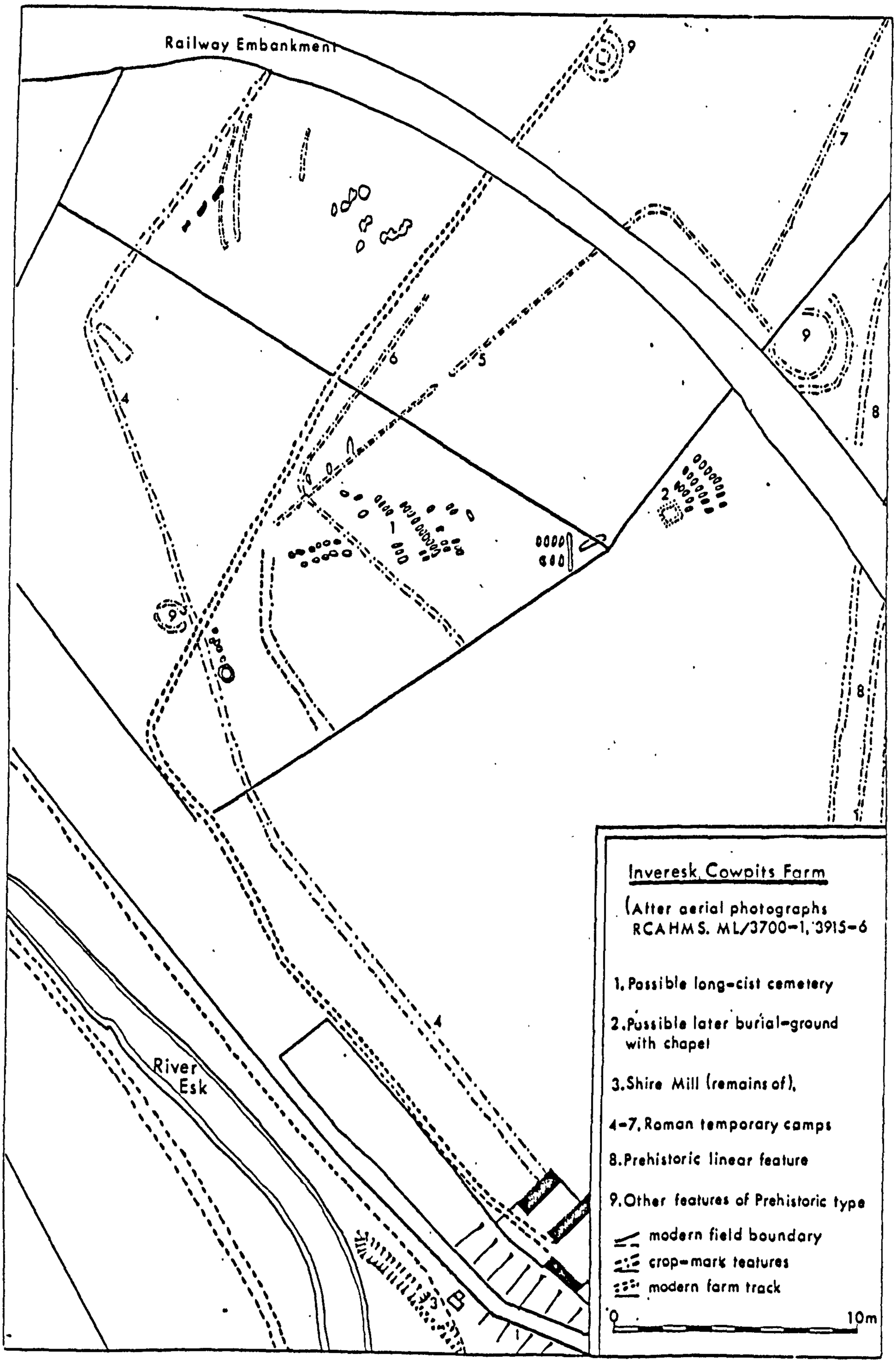
"communal burial-grounds", though the locations of the related settlements and lordship-centres are less definite. There is also the fact that the long-cist cemeteries do not account for all the possible burial-grounds for the pre-Anglian inhabitants of the Tweed-Forth area.

There are substantial blank spaces in the area, such as in the valleys of the Kale and Bowmont Waters or those of the upper Tweed and Teviot basins (Fig 4.4). The burial-grounds for these parts have yet to be identified, though there is always the possibility that they were less densely settled than the Lothians. This might have meant that these cemeteries of this period were fewer and smaller, though there might have been different burial-rituals and religious organisation in these latter parts. The only probable cemetery which was in use during the pre-Anglian period in the Tweed basin which has been excavated, is at the Hirsel near Coldstream in Berwickshire. In spite of excavation and study by Cramp, none of the burials which have been uncovered can be definitely dated to the pre-Anglian period. Even the two grave-markers, which turned up in the initial ploughing of the burial-ground (Fig III.1), can only be generally dated to the Seventh to Tenth centuries (Cramp and Home.1978.229). Thus, it could be proposed that the cemetery which was excavated was founded as a result of Anglian influence, in the Seventh or eighth centuries, while maintaining older British traditions in ritual and art. The possible major long-cist cemetery at Jedburgh, which appears to

have lain just north of the later abbey (Hilson.1872.348-9), might have been the burial-ground for the pre-Anglian inhabitants of the lower Jed valley, though it could have been set up under the influence of the Angles who set up the two *Gedweardе* . The origins of the probable cemetery of over a hundred and twenty graves, beside the Anglian settlement at Whitmuirhaugh near Sprouston, in the lower Tweed basin, could lie with either the Britons or the Angles. The evidence for pre-Anglian British funerary activities sets its own limits on inference and conjecture and the ideal course of study of the problems would be to study one major cemetery and its vicinity as completely and thoroughly as possible.

What is particularly striking about the long-cist cemeteries is their apparent lack of correspondence with later burial-grounds or parish churches. Thomas has remarked on the fact that there is a definite pattern of development, from cemeteries which "are imposed upon and are often spatially co-terminus with pre-Christian burial-grounds" (1971.53) to "developed cemeteries" with chapels and enclosure (Ibid.67). This can be seen in other examples outwith the Tweed-Forth area, such as Mare's Craig Quarry in north Fife, where a drystone chapel and an iron hand-bell were discovered during quarrying, in a site just across the valley of the Lidores Burn from the defended settlement on Clatchard Craig (Henshall.1956.274). The parish church of St Bees at Dunbar lies over a hundred metres west of the small long-cist cemetery at Kirkhill

Figure 4.5


Railway Embankment
River Esk
Inveresk Cowpits Farm
(After aerial photographs RCAHMS. ML/3700-1, 3915-6
1. Possible long-cist cemetery
2. Possible later burial-ground with chapel
3. Shire Mill (remains of).
4-7. Roman temporary camps
8. Prehistoric linear feature
9. Other features of Prehistoric type
modern field boundary
crop-mark features
modern farm track
0
10m

Brae (Feachem R W and Calder C S T 1950) (Fig 6.5) and its limits and full extent is not known. As Henshall has noted, the cemetery at Newfarm lies over a kilometre north of the parish church at Lasswade, the cemetery at Nunraw lay almost half a kilometre away from the twelfth century parish church at Garvald in East Lothian (Henshall. 1956.275) and the later burial-ground and priory at Coldingham lay almost two hundred metres west of St Michael's Knowe and the "many British burials" (p 218). The reasons for this apparent shift in the siting of burial-grounds could have varied between individual examples, the growing influence of the Anglian church could have been responsible (p 352) or the burial-grounds could have become full and a new site needed to be chosen. Evidence for chapels or churches, such as those which are mentioned in the Goddoddin poem, of pre-Anglian date is not available. Aerial photography has shown a crop-mark of a feature five metres square, just east of the possible long-cist cemetery near Newfarm, Inveresk (RCAHMS.ML/3700). This feature (Fig 4.5, 2) would appear to be the focus of other crop-marks like grave-pits, which could imply that the marks represented a chapel and its associated burial-ground. This interpretation waits on excavation and there is no other evidence for chapels or similar structures in association with the other possible examples of long-cist cemeteries which have been identified in the Tweed-Forth area. The dates of the construction and use of this possible chapel, like those of the chapels which have been identified in the cemeteries

in Fife, are not known and the possibility is that there were none until the Seventh and eighth centuries, when the activities of the Anglian church might have caused their construction.

The idea that these long-cists represented Christianity is based on the general east-west orientation of the burials themselves and the association of the inscribed memorial stones. These stones and the eglwys -element place-names only prove Christianity, they do not show the numbers of Christians at any one time, nor if they were only among the British chief or nobility. The eighth century was a most important one for the development of the Northumbrian church, as will be discussed in the first part of the seventh chapter of this study. There is the possibility that the conversion of the Britons of the Tweed-Forth area led to the creation of new religious places and burial-grounds. These new sites probably were where the later parish churches were built, though probably within the older land-blocks, as before. As is implied by the examples of Dunbar, Jedburgh and possibly the site at Newfarm near Inveresk, these new sites could have been just beside the older sites. This conjecture, like the others, rests on hardly any evidence, since there has been no examination of the burial-grounds or parish church sites in the Tweed-Forth area, other than at the Hirsel. Some of these parish centres may have been no earlier than the twelfth century and some of the fragments of datable stone sculpture could have been moved to the present or recorded

site from an unrecorded, earlier site.

This suggestion is also not easily supported, since the evidence does not allow for such interpretations to be satisfactorily proven. There must have been important reasons which would have led to the changing of the site of the burial-ground, for a widespread community. As with most aspects of the pre-Anglian British and their social, political or economic arrangements, so little is reliably known or provable. The impact of the Anglian conversion of the British inhabitants of the Tweed-Forth area might explain the apparent break in the continuity of the use of the long-cist cemeteries. There is also the matter of settlement-shift and economic or social change over a long period, which could account for this apparent break. The radiocarbon dates came from five burials in the single cemetery associated with the "Catstane", near Liston by the River Almond (Cowie.1978. 199-201), and it is thus debateable how relevant they might be to other long-cist cemeteries in the Tweed-Forth area. This would be especially true of the westerly parts of the area, such as west of the valley of the River Almond, where Anglian influence might not have been as strong as that in the lower Tweed basin or East Lothian. The matter of continuity or otherwise between pre-Anglian British and Northumbrian Anglian Christianity will be discussed in the first part of the seventh chapter. Further work on this subject might resolve such problems as the lack of any evidence for a major Early Christian

site near Din Eidyn . This could be because there was no significant settlement in the immediate vicinity and the chapel, if there was one for the settlement of Din Eidyn itself, could have been within the settlement. There is also the possibility that tne Class I Pictish-Symbol stone, from Princes Street Gardens came from the lost burial-ground, since there is reason to believe that some of the symbol-stones came from burials (Thomas.1984. 184). This burial-ground could have been where the later minster church of St Cuthbert's was built by the suggestively named Kyrchetun (p 136).

These cemeteries, like the eglwys -element place-names and the Early Christian inscribed memorial stones, are not only evidence of pre-Anglian Christianity but also evidence of organisation and continuity. There is also the bonus of some of the cists in the cemeteries at Newfarm Lasswade, Colstoun near the Chesters, Drem in East Lothian, and Gullane Links, incorporating fragments of rotary querns (Henshall.1956.279-83). This provides more evidence for cereal cultivation in the vicinities of the cemeteries, in the post-Roman period and Henshall has also remarked on the possibility that one of the examples from the Newfarm cemetery, which had the extremely wide diameter of 0.75 metres, could have come from a mill, instead of from a homestead or settlement. The fact is that none of the possibly early mills in the Tweed-Forth area can be dated to before the Scoto-Norman period, though this would be another subject which is worthy of more study, in view

of the references to molendinis in the early Scotto-Norman charters (pp 87, 91).

If there were water-mills in the area, in the pre-Anglian period, they would be a product of, and thus proof of, social and economic developments and even organisation within the possible land-blocks. As has been discussed above (p 221), there is a striking correspondence between some parish boundaries and long-cist cemetery distribution, which could provide more proof of the antiquity of some parishes as possibly originating as small land-blocks. Most of the boundaries of such parishes as Cramond, Liston, the Calders and Abercorn use natural markers like streams and watercourses or ridges, which could further imply early dates for them. The same could be said of the boundaries around Tyninghame (Fig 7.14) though this is all rather speculative and lacking datable material. The problem remains of identifying settlements and boundaries which were in existence at a time contemporary to the use of these cemeteries and thus interpreting the relationships between these.

The distribution of these cemeteries also supports the conjecture that most of the settlement in the pre-Anglian period was in the well-drained, and fertile soils of the river-valleys, especially those of the Tyne, Esk, Almond and Avon watercourses. The Statistical Account of 1795, when discussing the long-cist cemetery at Adam's Braes near Livingston, remarks that, in the two miles between there and the "Catstane", "many more cists and other

remains of interment had been found from time to time" (1975.103). This could be indicative of either greater use of this stretch of land for burial, compared to other parts of the land beside the Almond. It might also imply that this stretch was especially important, either for religious reasons or as regards density of settlement. The problem still remains to identify settlements which were occupied contemporary to the use of the cemeteries. In this respect, it might be rash to claim that a settlement which lay near to a long-cist cemetery was occupied during the period of use, especially in the absence of excavation. The lack of datable material for the pre-Anglian period and dating in general makes it difficult to come to any worthwhile conclusions about the cists which were found during the removal of the defended settlements at Platt Hill by Ratho in Midlothian (NSA.1845.Vol 1 90) and at Dunglass Point in Berwickshire (NSA.Vol II 303). They could represent deserted settlements which became later burial-grounds, though there is evidence that they were long-cists and the recorded details of these examples are scanty.

In spite of this continuing lack of dating material and actual dates, which could further underline the continuity of arrangements and the use of sites, in spite of the Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area, the picture of the area in this pre-Anglian period is still one of an "organised landscape", discussed in the first part of this section. I M Smith's study of the Manor

valley and his conclusions about the continuity of basic land-blocks could be supported by the distribution of long-cist cemeteries in relation to later parish-boundaries. The occurrence of cists of Bronze Age type and date among these cemeteries, along with implications of non-Christian rituals in the far from insignificant traces of burning at some of the sites (Henshall.1956.259; Cowan.1978.180) would appear to further support this implication of continuity of traditions and use of sacred ground. In spite of the probable loss of objects of wood or leather, there is a definite lack of evidence for Christian ritual and activity, supporting Jackson's remarks on the _Goddin_ poem, which were discussed above (p 208). As Thomas has remarked of the _eglwys_-element place-names, the fact that they came into existence showed that at that time, Christianity was the exception rather than the rule (1980.266). Only at Peebles and apparently late in the pre-Anglian period, is there any real evidence for actual Christian clergy, in the _episcopus_ and _sacerdos_ stones. Otherwise, the fact that St Cuthbert had to preach, baptise and convert in the Teviot basin and in the inhabited upland parts of the Tweed-Forth area, supports this lack of evidence for Christianity being other than the interest of a few.

Hope-Taylor has proposed that the lack of evidence for Christianity in the land between the Tweed and the Northumbrian Tyne, compared to the evidence for pre-Anglian Christianity north of it, indicated a cultural

and possibly political division between the Britons living north of the Tweed and those living south of it (1977.253). There is definitely a lack of evidence for pre-Anglian Christianity in the land south of the Tweed, though there is a similar lack of evidence for it in other parts of the Tweed-Forth area, since the long-cist cemeteries are only Christian by default. If the eglwys -element place-names do indeed represent the meeting-places of pre-Anglian British Christians, they could imply that these included more than just aristocrats. The inscribed memorial stones would similarly seem to imply that only the aristocrats in the vicinity were Christians, since the inscriptions refer to single persons and the eglwys -element place-names would imply significant numbers. There are many conclusions which could be arrived at on the basis of this evidence, which has yet to receive the study it needs and is still somewhat unstratified .

The two sections of this chapter can only really introduce the pre-Anglian Britons, their settlements and economy and Christianity and the problems of the interpretation and use of what evidence has been identified. It is unfortunate that evidence for settlements is so limited though this would fit with the long-cist cemeteries and the evidence for surviving traditions and gradual change leading to important developments by the eighth century or around then. It is also unfortunate that the place-names of Brittonic origin can provide little information and could not be used as readily as those of Old

English origin. It could be said that the settlements and economy of the pre-Anglian Britons of the Tweed-Forth area were in the processes of gradual change and development between the third and eighth centuries, which could account for this lack of definite evidence. What did develop can be traced in studies of the remains of the Anglian occupation and other parts of North Britain and early Medieval Wales.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ANGLIAN TAKEOVER

The first recorded presence of the Angles in Britain north of the Roman frontier is in 547. Bede recorded, "In the year 547 Ida began to reign" (HE V.24) which was copied by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle compilers, while the Historia Brittonum, 61, recorded, "Ida...possessed countries on the left-hand side of Britain and reigned twelve years". There is also an intriguing reference in the De Primo Saxonum Adventu section of the writings attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis, that "Ida then came... with sixty ships to Flemanburh and thence occupied (or seized) northern territories". The important detail is the use of the word occupans to describe Ida's actions, which literally means a forceful process like an invasion, rather than occupying or settling (Arnold ed II, 374).

These references all post-date the time when the events described took place. The first three appear to be merely annalistic dating of Ida's arrival and the original source for the last one has not yet been identified. As Hunter Blair has pointed out, the first Anglian king to receive any real mention in the records is Aethelfrith, who appears to have wielded power comparable with a king from 594 until 618 (1954.152). This could mean that the historical sources can tell us very little about the Anglian arrival in Bernicia and the British response apart from Urien of Rheged's expedition.

The traditional reconstruction of this process is that Ida, leading "a band of impoverished Anglian pirates', captured the Din Guayardi of the Historia Brittonum and remained there, penned in and isolated by the Britons until the time of Aethelfrith, when they massively expanded and brought most of what later became Northumbria into subjection. The reference in Simeon Dunelmensis seems to support this, but it seems to be based on the proverbial absence of evidence rather than actual evidence of absence.

This reconstruction was questioned by Hope-Taylor's re-examination of the origins of Northumbria in the light of his excavations at Yeavering and Bamburgh in Northumbria and at Doon Hill in East Lothian. He proposed that the initial Anglian presence was as part of a late or sub-Roman defensive system, against the Picts, on the British coast north of the Humber (1977.301-4). These Angles need not have been numerous but their presence led to a degree of cultural "cross-pollination", one of the results of which was the "Yeavering Tradition" of architecture, the term coined by Hope-Taylor to describe the plank-built halls at Yeavering and Doon Hill which seemed to have no parallel in other halls of Anglo-Saxon origin (1977.213-66). This Anglo-British culture could have meant that Ida merely took advantage of an already existing situation or was invited, as a consequence of Bernician British separatism (Ibid.280-9).

The idea of Bernician British separatism is plausible if the Gododdin had a structure similar to that discussed above (pp 205-206), being more of a loose confederation than a kingdom in the later Medieval sense. In such an arrangement or series of arrangements, Anglian influence or settlement could have spread as a consequence of the rivalries or alliances within the Tyne-Forth area and the lesser British chiefs and their related settlements or territories. Evidence to support this assumption or at the very least to give some basis to it is lacking; only the earliest pre-Christian Anglian burials which have been found in Bernicia give any indication of the earlier Anglian presence in the area. These might not be strictly relevant since none of these have been definitely identified in the Tweed-Forth area, though there is a peculiar scatter of objects of early Anglian or possibly early British origin in southern Scotland as a whole (N 1). Seen alongside the studies of these early burials by Miket (1980) and Alcock (1981b), these could be the results of contact and trade between Angles and Britons over a wide area, with the former as chiefs and their followers in just the Tyne-Tweed area. The problems with this reconstruction are that none of these other objects have been found in securely dated contexts and none of the early burials have been connected to contemporary settlements.

While these do not cast any real doubt on and hence support Hope-Taylor's reconstruction of the Anglian take-

over and subsequent expansion, they underline the deficiencies in the evidence concerning the initial Anglian presence in the Tyne-Forth area. Though the only recorded one was that of Ida at Bamburgh, the early burials show that there were others, like those at Great Tosson and Hepple on the Coquet, of Sixth to Seventh century date (Alcock.1981c.174; Miket.1980.291, 299) (Fig 17.1). The group of burials at Howick Heugh, which lay seventeen kilometres south of Bamburgh are of special interest, because of the number of burials, fifteen (Alcock.1981c.174; Miket.1980.299) and the position by by the coast. It is generally accepted that Ida came to Din Guayardi by sea, though the second quotation, from the De Primo Saxonum Adventu is not widely accepted as being a reliable record, while Hope-Taylor has interpreted the Angles taking refuge on Lindisfarne, according to the Historia Brittonum as an indication of the place being a major anchorage for the Angles' boats (1977.293). Seen alongside the evidence discussed in the second part of the first chapter for seaborne communications (pp 40 -42) these raise the possibility of contact at a possibly early date between the Angles and the Britons of the Tweed-Forth area. Actual evidence for this has not yet been identified. In view of the doubts discussed in the second part of the third chapter (p 124) about the dating of the formation of certain place-names, the positions of Coldingham, Tyningham, Whittingham and Lyneryngham (p.123-5) are not reliable proof of an early Anglian presence at

Coldingham itself or near Dunbar in the case of the latter three. These vicinities could have come under Anglian influence and control at a later period, though there is no definite evidence to support that hypothesis either.

For reasons discussed above (p 178), the first hall on Doon Hill, like the isolated one at Sprouston, could be considered equally as of British as Anglo-British inspiration. It is unfortunate that Hope-Taylor has not really discussed the other structure, which lay to the north of the two halls and is usually depicted as a post-and-panel structure 6.5 metres square with an entrance to the west (Fig 4.3). On Hope-Taylor's unpublished plan it is depicted within an outer enclosure almost 20 metres square, cutting a peculiar three-posted feature on the east. The occurrence of six deposits of cremated bone with seven patches of charcoal, five of the latter being apparently related to five of the former and four post-holes also apparently being related to the burnt patches, all lying on the eastern side of the outer enclosure, makes this series of structures especially interesting. Hope-Taylor marked these as "Temple?" on one of his plans, though he has given no details of any artefacts which were found in association, which could help to date the various remains, though plough-erosion could have removed much. There are no known parallels for any of the remains in native British contexts in north Britain and the import-ance of a pagan Anglian structure of worship so far north would be considerable. There is no real evidence for it

being definitely Anglian either, the other possibility being that the cremations and the three-posted feature are of Prehistoric date. The replaced stone circle and other features in Hope-Taylor's Area D at Yeavering inevitably come to mind (Hope-Taylor.1977.108-16), which could imply that the halls at Doon Hill were so sited for a mixture of economic and ritual reasons and the cremations could be compared to the extensive scatters of cremated bone in the soil at Yeavering and Hope-Taylor's dating of some of the cremated deposits to the Romano-British period (1977.335-8). Until the full details of the excavations at Doon Hill are made available, a discussion of the various possibilities is about all that can be done.

Hope-Taylor's interpretation of the first hall at Doon Hill as being in the Anglo-British "Yeavering Tradition" has been brought into question by Miket (1980.301) and Cramp, in her review of the Yeavering report (1980.63-5). This lack of agreement among authorities and lack of evidence to work with means that the origins of the first hall at Doon Hill cannot be ascribed to an Anglo-British "Yeavering Tradition". It is only one of a group of possibilities; the others being, that it developed from a native British tradition, other examples of which remain to be identified or that, like the possible example from Sprouston discussed above (p 178), it was a unique development for a specific purpose. In common with the other pieces of evidence which have been discussed so far

in this section, it does not impart any more details concerning early Anglian influence in the Tweed-Forth area.

The place-name evidence for differences in Anglian settlement, between the Tweed basin and the Lothians (pp 114 -117), supports the generally accepted probability that the former part of the Tweed-Forth area was settled initially and in different circumstances to settlement in the latter part. The only dating evidence for this initial settlement is the reference in the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert to an Anglian or Anglo-British community existing in the Leader basin by around 635, in Cuthbert's "tending his master's flocks" in 652 "while in his adolescence (p 58). Anglian settlement or influence in the lower Tweed basin could have begun at any time, since the Tweed would hardly have been a barrier to movement. Inevitably, there is no dating evidence for the ham or ingtun -element place-names (Figs 3.3, 4). Nor is there any evidence concerning the means or settlement, whether by agreement or force, in relation to the Britons, nor when the site at Sprouston came under Anglian control.

The two events which are generally considered to mark the "watershed" in the development of Northumbria, in the direction of the Tweed-Forth area, are the battles of Catraeth in around 600 and that of Degsastan in 603. The only real evidence for the former event is in the Gododdin poem (p 53). Since this source is not history, in the normal sense of the word, it fails to

give any real indications as to the events which caused the British chief of Din Eidyn to take an active concern in a place which lay over a hundred miles to the south. The further doubts as to the sequence of events described in the elegiac verses and the numbers of Britons who took part, are compounded by the question as to whether the events mentioned in the work actually took place. Alcock has highlighted the degree of probable "poetic licence" in the details of the Gododdin (1983.11-17). If the expedition did take place and ended so disastrously as the poem relates, it would have badly damaged the prestige of Mynyddog Mwynfawr and the chiefs of Din Eidyn , who were possibly the over-chiefs of Gododdin.

The main problem with any study of the battle of Catraeth , is because of the lack of other written sources which refer to it, which is not the case with the battle of Degsastan , principally because one of the protagonists was Aedan MacGabhran, King of the Dalriadic Scots 581-608. Thus, there are references to the battle in Scottish, Anglo-Saxon and British written sources, which would allow for a discussion of greater depth than for the other battle. The enigmatic reference in the "E" manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, to "Hering son of Hussa" leading "the force hither", has been related by Moisl to a series of references in Irish and Dalriadic written sources to Angles in Ireland and Dalriada (1983.110-12). As well as showing Anglo-Scottish contact before 603, these show that there were Anglian rivals to Aethelfrith's kingship. These

rivals, who have been discussed by Hunter Blair (1950.248 -9) and Kirby (1963) could have been related to Aethelfrith and the dynasty allegedly founded by Ida in 547. There is also the possibility that they were the members of other groups of Anglian settlers in the Tyne-Tweed area, who were related to or conquered by the Angles at Din Guaygardi. While this would fit with the scattered evidence for Anglian burials in the same area, the related settlement has not been identified.

The lack of any surviving references to Anglian activity prior to the time of Aethelfrith could be because there was no real unity in the Tyne-Tweed area. If the Angles did take over the already existing British arrangements, as Hope-Taylor has argued (1977.280-9) and these resembled those discussed above (pp 204-205), the only way that the Angles at Din Guaygardi could have established their supremacy would have been by a mixture of warfare and alliances or marriages. Aethelfrith's considerable expansion, of which Bede remarked, "He overran a greater area than any other king or ealdorman, exterminating or enslaving the inhabitants, making their lands either tributary to the English or ready for English settlement" (H E I.34), could have been the culmination of a gradual process. This is not definite and is only one possible series of conjectures on the basis of this evidence. Indeed, Duncan has suggested that Bede's reference to the battle of Degsastan , was a conflation of four separate sources: Scottish annals, a British lament for the battle

of Chester in 616; and references to two separate battles, the first being between the forces of Aedan MacGabhran and those of Aethelfrith and the second being one between the Angles and the Britons, in which Theobald, Aethelfrith's brother was killed (1981.16-19). This series of proposals has yet to be accepted by other authorities, though they do highlight the complete lack of any mention in the relevant sources to involvement by the Britons in the battle. Thus both Hunter Blair (1954.158) and Bannerman (1974.86) have concluded that the battle was between rival potential overlords for control of the fragmented British chiefdoms. One late written source does refer to the Britons, the Chronicle of the Scottish Nation by the fourteenth century historian, John of Fordun. In Chapter XXX, he writes that "....it was at length agreed between Aidan and the Britons to make a twofold attack.... Aidan was to come in from the north and the Britons from the south" (ed Skene.1871).

If John of Fordun's sources are correct, then this would be the first non-Welsh reference to the British expedition to Catraeth, to be identified, being suitably described in the Britons attacking "from the south". The problem is that this makes a link between events which might have taken place up to three years apart. Fordun might not be a reliable source for this period and Bannerman has pointed out that there is some evidence for British hostility towards Aedan MacGabhran, from sources relating to Strathclyde (1974.158). This does not mean that the

Britons of Gododdin were thus hostile towards him and the Scots. This doesnot exclude the possibility of a Scoto-British alliance against the Angles, mention of which might have been absent from the sources available to Bede or the others. It was I M Smith who drew attention to John of Fordun's account, as part of his identification of Degsastan with Addinston near Lauder (1982.36). John of Fordun's account related that Aedan's forces were defeated because they were "engaged daily in burning and despoiling" and were thus unprepared for Aethelfrith's attack. The identification with Addinston was partly because of it's being more likely than Skene's identification with Dawston Rig in Liddlesdale, which has been rejected by most authorities and it's possible literal meaning, as a place-name, of "Aedan's Stone". It is also because of the description of the nearby long-cist cemetery, prior to it's removal. "The cairn (No 2) is also curious, as it consists of a heap of burnt stones 2' high surrounded by a great deal of charcoal in and under while there were many burnt human bones, beside those of animals. Several others of this kind were found which are not marked on the plan" (Primrose.1871.223-7). The implication could be that these represent cremations of the dead and their horses after the battle, though these have not been dated. There is evidence for burning at other long-cist cemetery sites in the Tweed-Forth area (p 232). The use of the name Addinston would seem to be at variance with the fact that Bede referred to the place

as, "Daegsastan, that is, the stone of Daegsa" in his Historia Ecclesiastica Nevertheless, Addinston is a far more suitable site for the battle, lying by several important routes, which run from the Lothians towards Northumberland. This is compared to Dawston Rig (NY 576986), which would only have been appropriate if Aedan had been attacking from the Liddle basin and towards the Tweed basin.

Much of this discussion is related to the reliability of these sources and the evidence they seem to impart, much of which is open to differing interpretation. As with the fragmentary reference to Ida being "son of Eoppa son of Oessa. The same Oessa who first came to Britain", which Dumville has identified in an eighth to tenth century supplement to Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (1973.312-4), there are limits as to what can be conjectured from them. If Degsastan was at Addinston, this would imply that the land in the vicinity was allied to or subject to the Angles, according to John of Fordun's account, by 603 AD. While this might fit with the reference to St Cuthbert tending his flocks, it still lacks further supporting evidence and much of the arguments seem somewhat circular. This whole discussion on the written sources, which give information concerning the battle of Degsastan, underlines the problems of interpretation and the probably complicated nature of contemporary North British politics, which lay behind the simple, often bland recordings in the various Annals.

The fact that Aethelfrith attacked to the south in 605, against Aelle of Deira, would seem to imply that he felt no significant threat from the North. Apart from Duncan's suggestion about a "lost" Anglo-British battle in around 611, there is no reference to Anglo-British conflict or notable dealings, for the rest of Aethelfrith's reign or for the whole of that of Edwin. This could reflect the nature of the survival of written sources as much as activities in the Tweed-Forth area between 603 and 632 AD. There is no evidence for Anglian activity north of the Lammermuirs until after then, by reason of the lack of dating evidence for it. The extent of the land in the Tweed basin which was "either tributary to the English or ready for English settlement", is not recorded. The lack of knowledge about the Tweed basin in pre-Anglian times and the British power-structures within it makes speculation or conjecture difficult. There is no record of British chiefs or their centres in this part of the area, though there are the land-blocks which are mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto, the place-names and the later recorded Anglian centres at Old Melrose and Sprouston. The dating of when these came into existence is not known, though the relationship between Old Melrose and Sprouston is worthy of note. The monastery of Mailros was possibly not founded until after 635 (Cowan and Easson.1976.51) and could have been a British centre, though it was related to extensive lands. Possibly the Tweed-White Adder-Leader block was the "all it's associated possessions". Oswald probably

granted the monks a British centre with its related lands, which could have been the place which assumed the role of the possible tribal oppidum on Eildon Hill North. Thomas has suggested that Old Melrose was a British Christian centre (1971.17) and this would fit the conclusions about pre-Anglian British Christianity, in the second part of the fourth chapter (p 232) about it being primarily an aristocratic concern. The fact that Sprouston appears to have become the Anglian centre for the lower Tweed basin could be because of earlier, British divisions. There is no real evidence for the pre-Anglian power-structure of the lower Tweed basin, nor for a chief comparable to the possible "over-chief" at Din Eidyn in Lothian. Thus, the Tweed basin might have had a structure of a series of related land-blocks like the Tweed-White Adder-Leader example, though there is no evidence for any land related to Sprouston. Until the site has been thoroughly excavated and to the standard set by Hope-Taylor's excavation of Yeavering, it is really only possible to speculate on the reasons for the choice and role of the site.

As well as the possible Bowmont-Kale land-block (pp 192-193) the Historia de S. Cuthberto refers to the one bounded by the Teviot and the hills around Hawick and Cavers (Fig I.5). In the second chapter, one of the early Scoto-Norman charters discussed was the Inquisitio of the lands of the see of Glasgow, of 1119 (p 88). It was suggested that one of the groups of place-names mentioned - Ancrum, Tronie Hill, Lilliesleaf and Ashkirk - were evidence of settlement-organisation in the parts of

the Tweed basin outside of the land-blocks mentioned by the Historia de S. Cuthberto . There is the obvious lack of place-names of early Anglian origin in the land between the Tweed and Teviot watercourses, except between Melrose and Selkirk. This could have been due to differential Anglian settlement, the first Anglian settlers possibly preferring certain landholdings for their initial places. This is because there is a definite relationship between the distribution of the ingtun -element place-names and the Tweed-White Adder-Leader block (pp 121-2). After this, there could have been further expansion of Anglian settlement and linguistic influence. Smith has suggested that the Roman road, the so-called "Dere Street" marked the boundary between the Angles and the Britons, at least initially (1982.16-18). This does not seem to fit with the occurrence of Midlem and Darnick, west of the line of the road. The Britons would have had boundaries of pre-Roman date which could have been incorporated in some of the parish-boundaries and the road would have provided the basis for a boundary if there were none existing already. This same Roman road does not seem to influence the boundaries east of Edinburgh, so the boundaries which use the road line could be in parts of the area which had not been used or cultivated before the Roman period. This is only another series of conjectures, which suppose a great deal about British territorial arrangements and the existence of definite, recognised land limits in the pre-Anglian period.

Though this possible evidence for the land-divisions in the Tweed basin is equivocal, it does not exclude the probability that there were such divisions and they influenced Anglian settlement, which could have begun prior to Aethelfrith's aggression. The positions of the Angles and Britons in the Tweed basin during the reign of Edwin, 618-32 is not known, though there is little disagreement among authorities about the developments after 633, when Oswald became king of Northumbria. Under him, Northumbrian aggression continued, ranging as far south as Wessex and the Severn basin, where Oswald was defeated and killed in 642. It is against this that there is the unfortunately brief reference in the Iona-based Annals of Ulster to "obsessio Eten", for the year 638. Jackson has interpreted this as referring to a siege of Din Eidyn by the Angles in 638 (1959). There are no details of the events leading up to this seige, nor to the result or the immediate consequences. It could have been led by Oswald personally, to bring about the submission of the "over-chief" of Gododdin and the looting of his residence, or it could have resulted in not the capture of Din Eidyn but the submission of the resident chief and his survival as chief of only the surrounding, dependent land.

It is not definite that Din Eidyn was the seat of the "over-chief" of Gododdin, though it is as well to bear in mind Davies' remarks about the persistence of territorial arrangements among the early Medieval Britons (1982.44). This is because of the references which Hunter Blair has identified,

to some important Northumbrian officials, of the late seventh and early eighth centuries, who appear to have had special responsibility for defending the northern frontier of Northumbria (1954.170-2). The Life of St Wilfrid of York, by Eddius Stephanus (pp 66-8), makes several references to these persons, variously called subregulus , ealdorman , praefectus and princeps secundus rege , in his work and in other sources like the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede. Thacker has remarked on the uses of these various terms and agrees with Hunter Blair that the names which are recorded could represent a dynasty, using alliterative first syllables: Beornhaeth, Beort, Beortred, Beortfrith (1981.215-6). He has also suggested that these nobles were related to the dynasty of Oswald and his successors (Ibid.206). The term subregulus , which Eddius Stephanus uses for Beornhaeth literally meant "underking" and Sawyer has remarked that: "Rulers of formerly independent kingdoms, whether they were of British or English descent, who accepted Northumbrian overlordship, may have been allowed to continue as subkings.." (1978.34). The possibility is that this official or noble represents the replacement of the British "over-chief" by an Angle as "under-king". The "obsessio Eten" represented the end of any authority or power centring on Din Eidyn , since the most powerful noble in the territory of what was God-oddin, the Tyne-Forth area, was Anglian and resided at Bamburgh and Yeavering. As Thacker has noted, there is no other mention in the surviving written sources to any

other *principes* in Northumbria (1981.203-5), though Eddius Stephanus, by his reference to *subreguli* (p 66) implies that there might have been other "under-kings" in Northumbria. The terminology used is what seems to set this "dynasty" and its members apart from the other *comites* or *subreguli*. It could be assumed that Oswald granted all the theoretical powers of the "over-chief" to the Anglian noble, since he, Oswald, was, in practical terms, superior to the British chief at *Din Eidyn*. These would have included the most important function of the British "king", as Davies has noted, raising an armed force (1982.67-76). This could be seen alongside Eddius Stephanus' reference to Ecgfrith "having got together a cavalry force, immediately invaded" the Pictish lands, with "Beornhaeth subregulus" (Chapter 19). There is no other mention of this "dynasty" in written sources other than Bede's *Historia Ecclesiae* and Eddius Stephanus' *Life of St Wilfrid*. That is, apart from an intriguing reference in the "E" manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 780: "And the Northumbrian high-reeves burnt Beorn the ealdorman to death in *Seletun* on 24 December". This might refer to one of the later members of the "dynasty", in view of the first syllable of the name *Beorn*.

Apart from these written references, the basis for this hypothesis is the assumption that the institution of "over-chief" of *Gododdin* did not cease to exist, with the Anglian takeover, but was transferred to a relation or

Anglian subject of Oswald and his successors. This would thus fit with these various written references, but does not imply that this subregulus resided at Din Eidyn , since none of these mentions refer to any residence. The possibility could be that the subregulus of the time either resided at some unlocated site or close to the Northumbrian king. As shown on the various maps of place-name distribution in the Tweed-Forth area, there is a noticeable lack of recognisably early place-names of Old English origin in the Edinburgh area, the nearest example being Carrington by the two branches of the Esk (Fig 3.4). This could imply that there was no settlement by Angles in the dependent lands of Din Eidyn , until some later period. This could imply that Din Eidyn and its dependent lands were left by the Angles, apart from some settlement at and around Carrington. If some Anglian aristocrat had superseded the powers of the British "over-chief", the chief at Din Eidyn would have been reduced to his practical powers, as overlord of the land dependent on Din Eidyn itself. This is very much arguing from an absence of evidence, this subregulus or princeps could have resided at Din Eidyn and there could have been Anglian settlement in the dependent lands. The place-names reflect survival of examples to the twelfth century and need not reflect the situation before the defeat of Ecgfrith and the defeat at Nectanesmere in 685 or before the raids of the Scots and the Vikings in the ninth century. It is the familiar problem that much could have happened

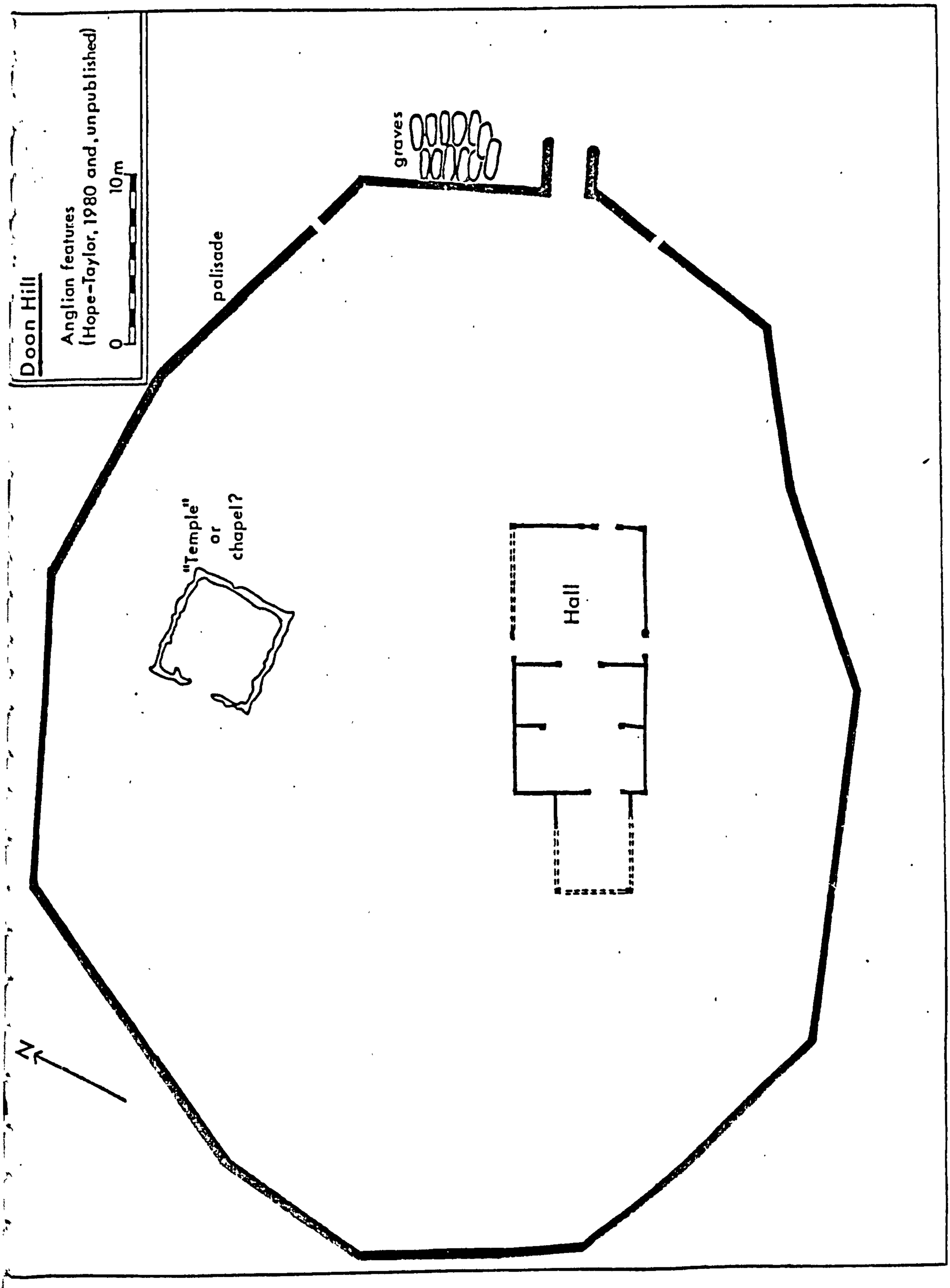
or changed in the time of the Anglian occupation of the Tweed-Forth area and the available evidence is often only capable of giving indications of these processes or their consequences.

It is only because of Bede's reference to Penneltun (p 125) that Anglian settlement west of Edinburgh can be shown to have taken place. The establishment of an Anglian monastery at Abercorn at some time between 638 and 682, is an indication of how secure was the Anglian control over the Lothians west of Edinburgh, after 638. It is also in this part of the Tweed-Forth area that two discoveries of material of Anglian origin have been made: the burial in a long-cist, with a necklace of glass beads, at Hound Point near Dalmeny (Alcock.1981b.174) (Fig II.1) and the gold and garnet pyramid from the land of West Craigie Farm near Dalmeny (Alcock.1981b.173) (Fig II.2). The long-cist is an oddly isolated example and one of the beads has been identified, by M Guido, as similar to one which was found during the excavations at Yeavering (1978.93). This does not date the burial nor prove that the person thus interred was Anglian. The person could have been an Angle who had settled or landed in the vicinity or a Briton who went to her grave wearing a necklace received through Anglo-British contact. The gold and garnet pyramid has been identified by Alcock as part of the fittings of an Anglian sword and harness (1981b.173) which has been interpreted by Bruce-Mitford as being of "late" type and probably seventh century date (1974.268). The exact details of its discovery

do not appear to have been recorded, so it could have come from a burial or it could have been dropped, by itself at some other date. If it did come from a burial and was part of the fittings of an Anglian sword and harness, the person was most probably an Anglian settler, as Alcock has concluded. However, Cramp has noted "a sadly unprovenanced hilt of Roman shape decorated with garnets and gold filigree from somewhere in Cumbria"(1983.270). This prestige-object, like the Dalmeny jewel, was found in an area thought to have been part of Northumbria but not definitely proven as subject or settled by Anglian-speakers. Also, the use is limited, like the Dalmeny jewel, how it came to be where it was found or where it was found, is not known. It might be interesting to note that long-cists, allegedly comparable to the ordered cemetery at Cramond Bridge, were found in the land of Craigiehall, which include that of West Craigie (NT 157764), in the early nineteenth century (Archaeologia Scotica) (Vol 3 1931.40-2). The Dalmeny jewel could have come from one of these long-cist burials and might represent an Anglian settler of some importance being buried by native British customs or an important Briton being buried with his loot, or a gift from the Angles to an ally. All of these interpretations are dependent on possibilities which are in turn dependent on other possibilities.

A more obvious consequence of the Anglian expansion and aggression under Oswald can be seen in the construction of the second, later hall at Doon Hill. Hope-Taylor has

Figure 5.1

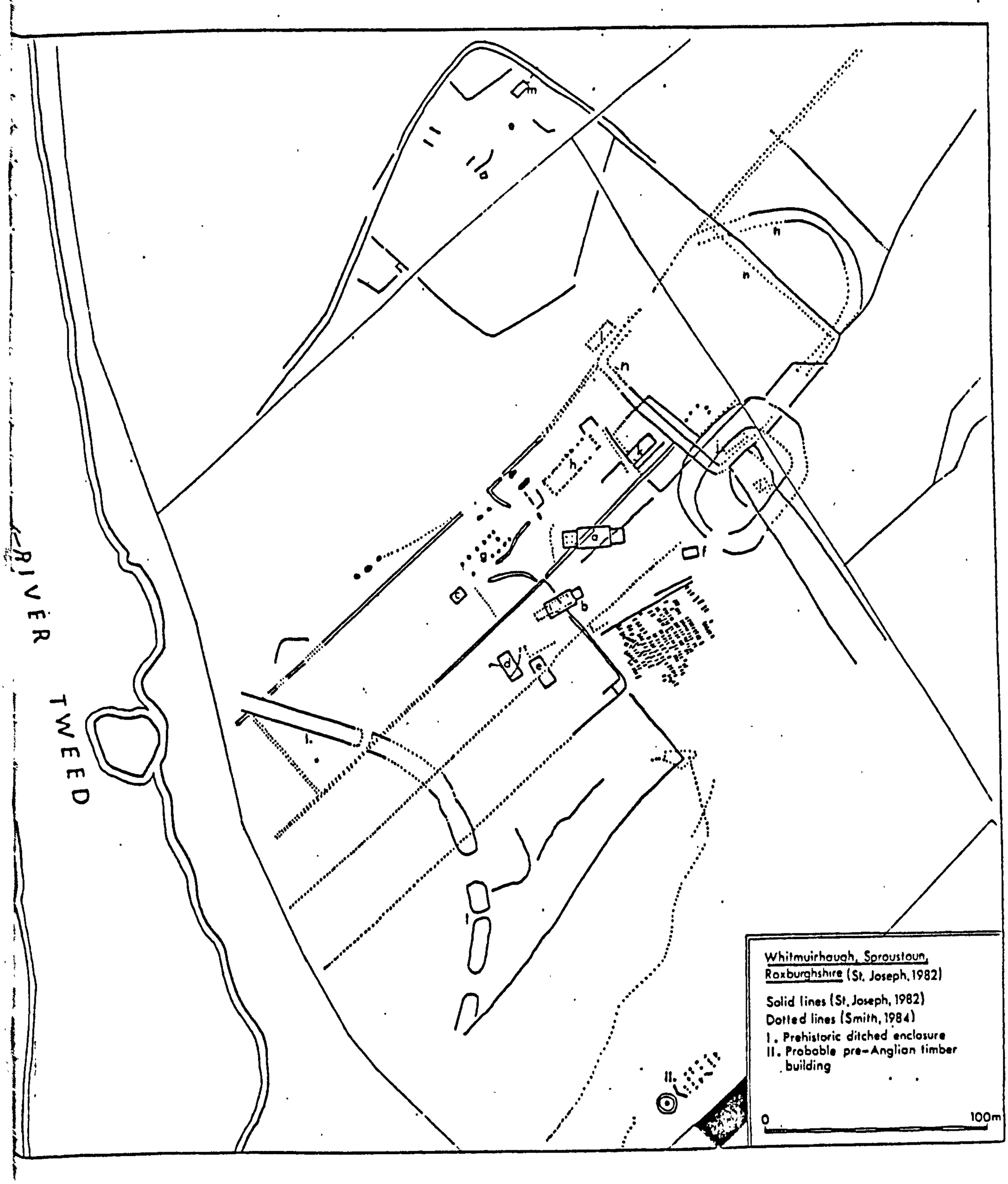

Doon Hill
Anglian features
(Hope-Taylor, 1980 and unpublished)
0
10m
graves
palisade
"Temple"
or
chapel?
Hall
N

pointed out that it strongly resembles the halls of phases IV and V at Yeavering, which he has dated to the times of Oswald and Oswiu, between 632 and 670 (1977.164-8, 367 N 257). The fact that it was laid over the first timber hall, on the same alignment and there were the remains of burnt timbers in the post-holes of the first hall, led Hope-Taylor to conclude "a systematic demolition of hall 'A' to permit the building of hall 'B'" (1980.19) by the Angles. The Anglian construction (Fig 5.1) consisted of: a polygonal palisade, of "staggered rows of half-round uprights" which as Hope-Taylor has pointed out, "is exactly paralleled by a formal enclosure attached to one of Yeavering's major halls" (1980.18); the aforementioned hall of fifteen by nine metres with a small enclosure at the west end; and a post and trench built structure six metres square, with an entrance gap at the middle of the west side, to the north. This latter structure is marked "? Temple" on Hope-Taylor's unpublished plan and the fact that it is aligned east-west could mean that it was the chapel of the Anglian vicus , deliberately sited to "Christianise" pre-Christian religious remains (p 181). Hope-Taylor has declined to attempt any interpretation of the uses or significance of the structure, because of the plough-erosion and the lack of relevant artefacts. There was also a small inhumation-cemetery of twelve graves by the entrance on the east.

This does not cast any further light on the reasons for the siting of a timber hall and attendant structures

on Doon Hill, apart from what has been said above (pp 180 -181), in the first part of the fourth chapter of this study. There is no evidence either that it was the site of the royal urbs where Eddius Stephanus recorded St Wilfrid of York as having been imprisoned in around 680, under a praefectus called Tydlin. Dynbaer was probably a British centre which was taken over by the Angles (p 127) and Alcock has proposed that the residence of the praefectus was probably at where the later castle of Dunbar was built (1981a.174-5) (Fig 6.3). Jackson has voiced disagreement with the unhistorical assumption that the land "from Lammermuir thence to Esk Mouth", mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 74) referred to the land given to the monastery at Tyninghame, which was established after 756 (1959.36.N 1). In the discussion of the details given in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 195) it was suggested that this land-block represented the lands dependent on urbs Dynbaer and the later monastery was given some land within it. Thus, the demolition of the first hall on Doon Hill could be seen as material evidence for the Anglian takeover of a British centre . The fact that there were three Anglian settlements in these lands with ingaham -element place-names in this land-block could have been because of the nature of the landholding, an Anglian praefectus at the centre instead of a British chief.

St Joseph has pointed out that at least two of the crop-marks of halls at Sprouston ("a" and "b" on Fig 5.2)


RIVER TWEED
Whitmuirhaugh, Sproustoun, Roxburghshire (St. Joseph, 1982)
Solid lines (St. Joseph, 1982)
Dotted lines (Smith, 1984)
I. Prehistoric ditched enclosure
II. Probable pre-Anglian timber building
0
100m

are comparable to examples from Yeavering as well (1982. 194). In his important analysis of the crop-mark site at Whitmuirhaugh, I M Smith has identified at least three other possible hall-sites among the seven identified by Reynolds (1979.52-3) and St Joseph (1982.194-7).(I M Smith. 1982.Fig 3). Excavation has yet to prove the other rectangular structures, which appear on the aerial photographs (Fig 5.2), and his plan, to be buildings as opposed to enclosures. It is also necessary to show whether the apparent enclosure ("n" on Fig 5.2) to the east of the concentration of halls is, as I M Smith has proposed, a counterpart to the sub-oval "Great Enclosure" at Yeavering (I M Smith. 1984.185). At 120 by 80 metres, it would compare well with the Yeavering example of 150 by 120 metres though there is a lack of support for this proposal. Smith is of the opinion that the site had a similar history of development as the 'villa regia' at Yeavering, beginning as a British centre and being taken over by the Angles at a date possibly before 603 (1984.184-8). St Joseph has pointed out that one of the crop-marks ("c" on Fig 5.2) is an apparent rectangular block on aerial photographs, and could be a building of 7 by 4 metres, with a sunken floor, a 'grubenhaus', like building C1 at Yeavering (1982.196, Hope-Taylor.1977.88-91). The site at Whitmuirhaugh is certainly a most complicated one and its role and position in the settlement and economy of the lower Tweed basin, during the Anglo-Saxon occupation, will be discussed below (pp 279-82). The site resembles Yeavering in some respects, with the

notable number of possible timber halls and the lack of any apparent relationship with surrounding lands. The principal differences between the two sites are that Yeavering has an Anglicised British name while that of Sprouston is completely Early English (p 146); that Yeavering was abandoned in the later seventh century while Sprouston just might have had occupation during the tenth century (pp 266-7); and there are no known written references to Sprouston in pre-Scottish times, compared to the known examples for Yeavering.

This does not really aid interpretation or dating of the Anglian takeover and presence at Sprouston. Any comparison with the known sites in the Milfield basin, like Yeavering or Thirlings is difficult since knowledge of the dates of the initial Anglian use of the site needs to wait on excavation. This is true of the two other possible hall-sites in the Tweed-Forth area, that of Eildontree Plantation (Fig 6.2) near Melrose and Whitekirk near Tyninghame (Fig 6.1). The evidence of the place-names might not provide any reliable models for the expansion of Anglian settlement, which is inevitable. They do suggest that some of this was related to British landholding units, though this is without the necessary artefactual or structural evidence to support it. It would be clearly unrealistic to talk of the limits of Anglian power or settlement since there would have been few definite frontiers or borders, as might have existed in later Medieval times. It is with

this in mind that some consideration is given to the question of the "atbret Iuddeu" of around 655, when Osuiu of Northumbria gave treasure to Penda of Mercia and his allies, at Iuddeu (Jackson.1962.36-8). This place might possibly have been the predecessor of Stirling Castle (p 60). Oswiu fled there from Yeavering, before Penda of Mercia and his Anglo-Saxon and British allies, presumably bearing with him all the treasure he could carry. The fact that he fled so far north, almost to the Forth, would imply that the place lay within the land which was subject to Osuiu as king of Northumbria. As with Din Eidyn or Edinburgh, there is a noticeable lack of material evidence for the Anglian presence at Stirling. The spelling of Urbs Giudi by Bede could represent the Anglian pronunciation of what the Historia Brittonum spelled Iuddeu , though there has been little study of the name and its meaning.

The establishment of the episcopate of the Lothians at Abercorn in 682 is generally regarded as the indication of the extent of Northumbrian power north of the Forth by that date. Similarly, the disastrous defeat of King Ecgfrith and his army at Nectanesmere near Forfar in 685 and the subsequent flight of the bishop-designate Trumuine to the monastery of Streaneshalh or Whitby, are regarded as indications of the contractions of Northumbrian power in the north. Bede wrote that "a proportion of the Britons themselves regained their freedom" (H E IV.26) and Jackson

has interpreted this as referring to the Britons of Strathclyde (1958.378). There is no evidence whether this included Britons in the general area of the Gododdin or that there were major raids by the Picts south of the Forth which is more of a reflection on the written sources than what might have actually happened. The possibility is that after 685, Anglian power effectively ceased to be effective west of the Roman road between Soutra and the Forth "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth". The often overlooked reference in the chronological summary of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica to "Beortred dux regius", being defeated and killed by the Picts in 698 (H E V.24), does not refer to where this battle took place. Though the battle of 711, where "Beortfrid subregulus" defeated the Picts, took place "between Haefe and Caere", at Strathcarron, between the rivers Avon and Carron, this does not mean that the River Carron marked the limit of Anglian power at the time. The structure of the British kingdom of the Gododdin was founded on recognition of a noble as his "over-chief"(p 205). Thus, the extent of Anglian control or power would have been based on tradition and where the Angles could make their power visible. This does not provide any indications as to the nature of Anglian control or settlement in the upper Tweed basin or west of Edinburgh, after 685. There is only the possibility that some Anglian settlement survived and the British chiefs on these two parts of the Tweed-Forth area acknowledged the Northumbrian king and his sub-

regulus as their overlords.

Anglian control in the Tweed-Forth area did not remain static throughout the period. It is recorded that Eadberht, who was king of Northumbria 737-8 "added to his kingdom the plain of Cyile ", by 750, according to the Continuatio Baedae (Colgrave and Mynors.1969.575). He is a somewhat neglected monarch, who is only mentioned a few times in the surviving written source, such as the Continuatio and the Historia Regum which is attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis . The extent of some "other districts" or even their locations are not known and only the Kyle, around Ayr, has been identified and shown to have been settled by Angles, in the basis of various place-names (Nicolaisen. 1976.69, 71, 84). Within the Tweed-Forth area, it could be assumed that Anglian control of the Lothians west of Edinburgh was reasserted, though this assumes that it was lost or if so, was not reasserted at some earlier date. Nicolaisen's suggestion that some of the burgh -element placenames could date to the eighth century (p 139), seems to highlight a reference in the Continuatio Baedae that Eadberht led an army against Dunbarton "from Ouama (Ovania) to Newburgh, that is, to the new city" in 756 (Colgrave and Mynors. 1969.275). This place, Newburgh, has not been identified, though Edinburgh and Roxburgh could represent a further assertion of Northumbrian Anglian power, giving Old English names to what were probably originally British defended settlements. A similar lack of evidence exists to explain the intriguing reference in both the Historia Regum

attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis and the writings of Florence of Worcester , for the year 761, when "a very severe battle was fought near Eildon" (Anderson A.O.1903)The protagonists named were, King Aethelred Moll of Northumbria and "Oswine fortissimus duces regius" and there is no evidence to connect either of these with the place chosen for the battle, which the Historia Regum notes as "iuxta Melros".

There is also the peculiar series of changes in the eighth century, such as the abandonment or shift of settlements, which has been noted in East Anglia and other parts of southern Britain (Hodges.1982.139-40; Arnold and Wardle. 1981.147-8). Arnold and Wardle were of the opinion that this "reorganisation of such territorial units" (1981.148) led to a pattern different to that of the fifth and Sixth Centuries though more similar to that of the parochial system". This could be paralleled in the possible end of the use of the long-cist cemeteries (p 218), though there is also the fact of the climatic "low", between 600 and 800 (p 12) and the probable economic changes and developments since the Second and third centuries. These latter factors need to be considered and studied, though evidence is lacking, in written sources as well as artefactual and structural remains.

The question of Anglian expansion does not end with the ninth century and the development of the Scotto-Pictish kingdom and power as far south as the River Tweed. This is because of the activities of the Wessex kings of the

tenth century, particularly Athelstan (925-940), who is recorded as ravaging the lands of the Scots by land and sea in 934 (Anderson A O 1908.67-8). Reference was made in the second part of the first chapter to a peculiar reference in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, which said that Athelstan "preyed and spoiled the kingdom of Scotland to Edinburrough", and was tentatively interpreted as "preyed and spoiled the kingdom of Scotland from Edinburrough" (p 39-40). If this interpretation is correct, it would imply that Edinburgh owed its Old English name to Athelstan and his possible reconquest of the Tweed-Forth area in support of Northumbria and the "High-Reeve of Bamburgh" Ealdred Eadulfing. Though authorities on the later Anglo-Saxon period have often commented on Athelstan's great raid of 934, there has been no study of the logistical problems involved. This is why reference was made in the first chapter to the possibility that Edinburgh and its three related landing-places, Cramond, Inverleith and Inveresk, was the centre of operation, with Berwick on Tweed as another important harbour which was used in the expedition.

Though the sack of Dunbar and its probable abandonment is recorded in the Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, as the work of Kenneth MacAlpin, at some date after 849 (Anderson A O 1922.288), the consequences of the Scottish raids and the subsequent Wessex reconquest, for the site near Sprouston are not known. In his studies of the crop-mark site at Whitmuirhaugh, I M Smith pointed out two possible hall-remains which were apparently post-built and

not with foundation-trenches like the other probable examples of timber halls. These ("g" and "h" on Fig 5.2) are respectively 22 by 6 metres and 30 by 8 metres in size. They lie beside each other and on a completely different alignment to the other probable timber halls. Smith has remarked on their apparent similarities to timber halls which have been found in southern Britain, such as at Thetford (1984.186). There is certainly no significant similarity in the plans or proportions of the two examples with other Northumbrian examples of timber halls. Though unexcavated, they could represent the reoccupation of the Whitmuirhaugh site by some Anglo-Saxon aristocrat and his court, including architects and builders, who were more used to styles of architecture which originated in southern England. Excavation might also show if there were any subsidiary buildings and for how long the site was occupied at this later date.

There is also the matter of the apparent shift of importance from the Whitmuirhaugh site to Roxburgh, where a burgh existed by 1124, according to the charter for Selkirk Abbey (p 87). This document also grants Sprouston to the Tironensian monks, which could imply some kind of connection with Roxburgh, but does not give any indication of surviving importance at Sprouston. The important later Medieval manor referred to by Smith (1984.186), can be related to the grant of a manor at Sprouston to Eustace de Vesci by King William the Lion in 1192 (Kelso Cartulary , No. 207). This does not exclude the probability of

continued settlement at the site, or even the possibility of continued occupation by some "English aristocrat of thanely rank" as I M Smith has suggested (1984.186). A comparison might be drawn between the Anglian monastery at Old Melrose, where no significant traces of the major establishment have been found, and Jedburgh, where no early church or monastery has been definitely identified but considerable numbers of artefacts have been found, showing late Anglian occupation. The impression given could be that, while a token presence was kept at Old Melrose - which was not actually evacuated until 1074 - the actual religious and possibly economic functions were transferred to the comparative safety of Jedburgh (p 425). The case could have been similar between Sprouston and Roxburgh, the preference for the latter being because of the defensibility of the gravel mound on which it stands and its standing by at least two fords and at the confluence of the Tweed and Teviot rivers. This series of suggestions remains to be tested by excavation, at all four of the sites referred to in this paragraph, though it does show the lack of knowledge and study of the later Anglian period in the Tweed-Forth area and what happened as a result of Athelstan's activities in northern Northumbria.

Though the title of this chapter said that it was concerned with the Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area, what has been discussed implies that the process was neither constant nor complete. Since the written sources

are scanty for the time after the early eighth century, this later period and the developments during it in Northumbria have been less thoroughly studied than they should have been. The basic problem of a lack of reliable and datable evidence to use is not an insoluble one, which is more likely to be a reflection of this lack of study. As was stated in the Introduction, it was inevitable that what came into existence under the Angles would reflect what existed or was developing under the pre-Anglian Britons (p 2). A good example of this is what Barrow has termed "a geographically definable stretch of permanent common pasture", such as Coldingham Moor or the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh, "seems to have been an essential, probably a very primitive characteristic of the lathe, soke or shire" (1973.52). In the first part of the first chapter, evidence for large stretches of uncultivated pasture was referred to (p 19) and evidence for division of this terrain in pre-Roman times was discussed in the first part of the previous chapter (p 155). Thus, the designation of common pasture could be seen as part of a process which had begun in pre-Roman times: the gradual encroachment of uncultivated land as the population increased, making necessary the division of some stretches by linear earthworks. This caused the eventual identification of some of these stretches with specific communities and hence the recording of these stretches as belonging to these or the lordship or shire to which they belonged. The Angles and their church brought with them literacy and the practice of

recording these boundaries. This would have been instead of relying on tradition and the general memories of those involved. However, the process of gradual encroachment began before the Anglian takeover and continued during and after the Anglian occupation.

The varying extent of the Anglian settlement and influence at various times is related to developments before, during and after the occupation. Simply, the question is whether being part of Northumbria had any significant effect on social and economic developments. These originated long before the Anglian takeover and what had developed by the twelfth century might have owed little or nothing to Northumbria. The political, social and economic arrangements would not have been affected by what happened in southern England after the Viking period; these arrangements would have resembled those of pre-Viking England rather than those of England dominated by Wessex in the later tenth and eleventh centuries. These are really topics for discussion in the next and concluding chapters. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and refer to the developments in Anglian control in the Tweed-Forth area. Especially the later series of events like the reign of Eadberht and the activities of Athelstan and the other Wessex kings in the area.

The basic outline of the Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area might seem clear though the details of the

spread of settlement and its relationship with Anglian royal power and the already existing British settlement, are not clear. The fact that the possible major Anglian settlements of Bolton and Eldbotle, in East Lothian, both lay, near the major enclosure of the Chesters and Eagles-carnie (Fig I.13) and within the same parish as Karmurdac (Fig I.11) respectively, could imply the transfer of authority or importance from the British centre to the Anglian, if there was more proof of the importance of these places, other than implied by their place-names. The place-names of Old English origin show that Anglian settlement in the lower Tweed basin differed from that in the east Lothians (p 124), though the place-names of Brittonic origin show more than slight British survival, especially in the Lothians (pp 102,105). The presence of people with non-Brittonic personal names at places with Brittonic names, like "Thor son of Suein" at Tranent in the early twelfth century (p 356); and the development of place-names with Old English and Brittonic elements, like Halltree by the Gala Water (p 127), imply Anglian linguistic influence rather than actual settlement at these places. There is no reason to disagree with the conjecture that the Angles initially infilled sparsely populated parts of land-blocks and then expanded or interbred with the Britons and spread their influence, linguistic or cultural, beyond the places where they actually settled. The initial settlement need not have been organised in any particular way and the presence of the very isolated Eaglesham in Renfrewshire or Dawick

by Stobo in the upper Tweed valley would seem to show this. The fact that they cannot be reliably related to any phase or period of Anglian expansion is only to be expected, since the artefact assemblage in no way complements the place-name evidence. This is most clearly seen in the distribution of stray finds, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

That so much can be said of the process of the Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area is due to the evidence which has survived and been studied. The fact that there are more possibilities and conjectures than dated or understood sites or arrangements is also due to the evidence. Though there is still much work to be done on the details of the Anglian takeover and the various fluctuations in Anglian power and influence, and individual sites like Sprouston or the crop-mark site at Eildontree Plantation (Fig 6.2), the broad details of the general process seem clear. Since there is no proof that the Britons in the Tweed-Forth area all became completely Anglicised or lost their cultural identity, they appear to have acknowledged the Anglian monarch as their over-chief. Their arrangements or what remains of them could be studied along with those of the Anglian settlers or the Anglicised Britons.

N 1 A spear-head of Swanton's type F1, of pre-sixth century date, (Swanton.1974.15-16), from Castle Hill Howrat, Dalry, Ayrshire (Ibid.40); two spears from Traprain (Burley.1947.202 Nos 397, 398), which resemble Swanton's type E1, of fifth century date (Swanton.1974. 13) and his type F1, though Burley is reluctant to identify the two spear-heads as being Anglo-Saxon in origin; fifth century Anglian glass from Mote of Mark, Dumfriesshire, from a context of a similar date (Longley.1982. 132-4); Anglian glass from Castle Hill Howrat, Dalry, Ayrshire (Smith.1919.127-8)

SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMY DURING THE ANGLO-SAXON OCCUPATION

Throughout this study, continuity of various aspects of what existed in the area has been almost taken for granted, though this is more usually implied rather than definitely proven. In the fourth chapter, there was little that could be concluded of the settlement and economy of the Tweed-Forth area immediately prior to the Anglian takeover, on the basis of reliable evidence and study (p 206). One point which was made in the previous chapter was that the Anglian or Northumbrian control of the Tweed-Forth area varied between different periods of history and the different parts of the area. Another fact that must also be borne in mind is that, as with the Britons, there are no "typical" settlements for this period, for either Britons or Angles. Or even settlements which have been excavated and studied and shown to have been occupied during the time of the Anglian occupation. The full details and finds which were identified at the Doon Hill site, near Dunbar (Fig 5.1) have not been made available and the site at Sprouston, by the Tweed (Fig 5.2) has yet to be excavated. Field-walking by the author, on the crop-mark site at Eildontree Plantation by Melrose (Fig 6.2) and by M Brown on the other crop-mark site at Whitekirk by Tyninghame (Fig 6.1), has failed to locate any material evidence to aid interpretation or dating of what has been drawn from the aerial photographs.

Ploughing of a field at Stichill, in the lower Tweed basin (Fig I.3), in 1978, turned up two loom-weights of

baked clay and one of stone (Proc.Soc.Antiq.Scot.1974.319) (Fig II.3). These resemble other loom-weights which were found in the deposits associated with buildings "C1", "C3", "D4(a)" and "D5" of the sixth and seventh century villa regis at Yeavering in Northumberland (Hope-Taylor.1977.181-2). These were ancillary buildings and the loom-weights were found in the foundation-trenches, so it could be assumed that the ploughing at Stichill cut into the remains of possibly one building of an unrecorded Anglian settlement. The problem is that the deep cutting of the plough would also have removed the remains of the building or buildings, so that the context of the possible weaving-shed is not known. The place was the site of a chapel of the minster church at Ednam (Cowan.1967.59), by the later twelfth century, though this latter church was established by 1107 and there is no evidence that it existed during the time of the Anglian occupation. The place-name of Stichill does not give any information concerning the site and aerial photography shows earthworks of what look like abandoned house-sites of later Medieval date to the west of the field (1947 RAF Vertical Survey). It does lie near a group of defended settlements around Hume which could have been occupied during the early Medieval period. There is evidence for early Christian activity on the site of the church at Hume (p 366) and the place could have been the religious centre for a group of related communities. This grouping lay within the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block, which is mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 73). Thus,

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have been static, especially in the lowland parts of the Tweed-Forth area. The centre of lordship could have shifted as well, in the five centuries between the Anglian takeover of the area and the documentation of the twelfth century and later. The process of attempting to trace back threads of patterns from twelfth century or later documents is somewhat aided by the details which were preserved in the Historia de S. Cuthberto. Anglian settlement does seem to have been related to these land-blocks (p 145) and it is very probable that they existed in some form before the actual Anglian takeover (pp 74-5).

There might be no definite evidence for the aspects of the native British society which was taken over by the Anglian Northumbrians "as a going concern", as Alcock has remarked (1981b.180). But it could not have radically differed from the arrangements which are referred to in the aforementioned Anglian written source and it was probably the pyramidal social and political or tribal structure which has also been discussed above (pp 254-256). This consisted of, an "over-chief" or "king", who might have been superseded by the possible "dynasty" of Anglian principes or ealdormanni, who were subject to the Anglian king at Bamburgh; then there were chiefs or landowners who had supremacy over the land-blocks such as "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" and their inhabitants, these being replaced or superseded by the Anglian praefecti, abbots and abbesses; there were the lesser chiefs and landowners, who had supremacy over the smaller landholdings, the twelve or thirteen-settle-

ment or six or seven-settlement groups which might have paralleled the arrangements of pre-Norman Wales. Though the church controlled the land-blocks referred to in the Historia De S Cuthberto, they would have exerted this control through lesser landowners or nobility, just like the greater lay landowners. The initial control would have been through Britons under Anglian control or by Angles who replaced hostile or unreliable Britons. This is one aspect of the Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area for which there is no real evidence, only the assumption that when the area became part of Northumbria the economic, social and landholding arrangements were maintained and allowed to develop, almost parallel to those of contemporary early Medieval Wales. Since the evidence for the landholdings of the church is fragmentary and dates to the tenth century, which was a later part of the Anglian occupation, it is not possible to say whether these landblocks were in any way typical. Their pre-Anglian centres or foci are not recorded since the Anglian monasteries replaced these, while retaining lay lesser landowners in the arrangements of pre-Anglian origin.

The evidence for the settlement and economy is patchy and allows room for inference and speculation, rather than informed interpretation. For the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" land-block, there is the assumption that it was centred or dependent on Dunbar and the monastery at Tyninghame was established within it and related to the urbs

Dynbaer in some way (p 258). This is possible to assume since this urbs is recorded, unlike the site at Sprouston, whose relationship with the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block is not known. There are various references tc the possible "hierarchy" of settlement in the Tweed-Forth area, like that of Ecgfrith making royal progress "per civitates castellos vicosque" towards the double monastery at Colodaesbyrig , according to the Life of St Wilfrid (p 69). Unfortunately, none of these places are mentioned by name, nor is it clear whether the route taken to the monastery passed through the lower Tweed basin or came from south of the Tweed. There is also the oddly ignored reference in the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert, to "prefectus Egfridi Hildmer" who is referred to as having his villa within a certain distance of the monastery at Old Melrose, which could be covered in under a day, by horse (p 63). The site at Sprouston lies 22 kilometres down the Tweed from Old Melrose, so it is possible that this was the residence of the praefectus. However, this residence was a villa or vicus and not an urbs , according to the Anonymous Life and Bede's Life, respectively. This term is also used by Bede for the site at Yeavering and for the settlement of "Sibba Ecgfridi comite" which was "beside the river which is called Tweed" (p 62), so that both these unnamed sites could have been that at Sprouston.

Though the site is as yet unexcavated, the aerial photographs and the interpretative work by St Joseph (1982) and I M Smith (1982, 1984) has shown that it was a most important

site, with possibly seven timber buildings, as St Joseph has proposed, though Smith has identified seven or eight other possible examples (Fig 5.2). This would indeed imply that the site was as important as Yeavering and a suitable residence for someone as important as a *praefectus* who possibly would have resided in building "a". This was fourteen by ten metres in size, with enclosed yards at both ends, like building A1(b) at Yeavering (St Joseph.1982.197). The other comparable structure, building "b", was rebuilt at least once, one phase consisting of a hall ten by six metres in size and a square yard at the east end, the other of a hall eight by four metres in size with a rectangular yard at the west end. The two buildings, "d" and "e" were both eleven by six metres and parallel, so that they could have been ancillary buildings to the hall, like the buildings in the C-sector of the site at Yeavering. Structure "c", which could have been a sunken-floored *grubenhaus* has already been discussed (p 260) and was possibly another ancillary building. The crop-marks of buildings "g" and "h" are not as distinct as those of the other buildings which have already been mentioned, on the relevant aerial photographs (RCAHMS. RX/2470, 3009-11, CUCAP). Though the crop-marks of the structures "f", "i", "j", "k", "l" and "m" (on the plan Fig 5.2) are fairly distinct, they are not definitely foundation-trenches for timber buildings. Structure "m" could be an enclosure, as could structure "l" and there is no evidence that would date them to any time

during the Anglian occupation of the surrounding area.

Smith's interpretation of the crop-mark complex (1982. 27 Fig 6) has emphasised the series of possible enclosure or road-lines, in the form of parallel lines of palisade-trenches or ditches. His interpretation of the irregular sub-trapezoidal enclosure beside the probable halls as a counterpart to the "Great Enclosure" at Yeavering ("n" on Fig 5.2) (1984.184-8) is possible. This is because the crop-marks indicate that the foundation-trenches were not as wide as those of the ditches of a possible Prehistoric field-system, since the former are under a metre wide, while the latter are around two metres wide, according to the crop-marks. The extension of this enclosure to the north and down the side of the glacial gravel mound, encloses a further area 270 by 140 metres in extent, as well as the odd sub-octagonal enclosure in the northern corner, which contained other lesser structures. As Smith's interpretative drawing showed, the trapezoidal "Great Enclosure" seems to have been truncated into a rectangular enclosure, approximately 80 by 92 metres in extent, which was possibly a part of the larger enclosure. The ploughing over the years has badly eroded the features, so that it is not clear whether this was of a triple or a simple double line of ditch or palisade, from study of the aerial photographs. This series of enclosures could have had an economic or social function, for containing stock or people during meetings or markets.

The siting of what has been interpreted as a burial-

ground of around 120 graves just to the south of the halls (St Joseph.1982.197), shows that the site was a religious as well as an economic centre, the number of graves being comparable with the long-cist cemeteries which have been found in the Lothians (pp 217-222). This aspect will be discussed below (p 430) and only excavation will indicate if the cemetery had a related chapel or church. The origins of the villa are not known, though it was suggested above (p 261) that the place was established to replace the British centre which probably existed at or near Old Melrose or Eildon Hill North. The possible remains of this centre have not been identified, though the possible crop-mark site at Eildontree Plantation might have been related. This appears to have consisted of a building, 23 by 11 metres in size, within a sub-rectangular enclosure, almost 115 by 85 metres in extent, situated in a position overlooking the crossings of the Tweed and the junction with the Leader (Fig 6.2). The structure is depicted on only one aerial photograph (CUCAP BFZ 80), which shows fragmentary indications of the enclosure as having a double ditch. Since it is on the same alignment as the A6091 the possibility is that it might not be of early medieval date. However, it is close to the site of the two, destroyed soutterrains (Fig I.6). Thus the former structure might have been deliberately sited in relation to earlier British settlements.

Only excavation will allow a conclusive interpretation of the crop-mark and if it does have two phases of building,

as the aerial photograph implies (Fig 6.2). This does not aid interpretation of the settlements and economy in the lower Tweed basin and there is a notable lack of any possible centres or crop-mark sites comparable to either Sprouston or Eildontree plantation within the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block. There is the possible precursor of the "shire" which was mentioned in Edgar's grant to Durham in 1095, as being dependent on Berwick-on-Tweed (pp 83-84) and the possible land which were related to the possible native centres at the Hirsel, around Hume and the Leader. The evidence for the latter land-blocks is almost completely on the basis of the distribution of native enclosures and possible early church or cemetery sites. The parish boundaries respect the White Adder boundary, except in the Lammermuirs, the Tweed boundary, except around Ednam and Roxburgh and the Leader boundary except around Lauder. These could be due to later developments like the creation of the lordship of Lauderdale by David I, in the case of the latter, though they could equally reflect earlier arrangements which were omitted from the Historia de S. Cuthberto . As Davies has remarked, "Can both land use and political organisation have been so static, so unchanging?" (1982.46), in the context of early Medieval Wales. Though there could have been lesser pieces of land related to the settlements in the lower Tweed basin, they could have lain on both sides of the river-boundaries, as is implied by the later records (p 83). The example of Stichill, which was discussed above (p 274), shows that not all the settlements

of the early Medieval period are recorded in the place-names which refer to habitation. The single and isolated Eccles, which lies almost equidistant from the possible native centres at the Hirsel, Sprouston and Hune, could imply some kind of pre-Anglian unity, or inter-relationship, within the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block. There are no cemeteries or burial grounds in the area which can be definitely dated to the early Medieval or sub-Roman period, in this part of the Tweed-Forth area, unlike the long-cist cemeteries north of the Lammermuirs. Thus, it is not possible to seek a correlation between parish-boundaries and possible early cemeteries, as with the Almond basin in the Lothians (p 221). Cowan has referred to some relationships between certain churches, which Barrow has suggested as the remains of early religious or territorial arrangements (1973.259). These include the church at Edrom having dependent chapels at East Nisbet (NT 864554, where there is a ditched enclosure called the Chesters), Kimmerghame and Blackadder (Cowan.1967.60) and the church at Eccles having dependent chapels at Birgham, Leitholm and Mersington (Ibid. 58). Barrow's suggestions refer to the possible origins of arrangements which were recorded in the later twelfth century, like "Edromshire" (1973.259) and though the church at Ednam with its dependent chapels at Nenthorn, Newton and Stichill originated in 1105 (Cowan.1967.59); they may have used earlier arrangements or what survived of them. This whole approach presumes that religious arrangements mirrored economic or social ones. Though this might be possible,

there is no way to reliably prove it, even if Edrom, Kimmerghame and Blackadder are mentioned in Edgar's grant of "Berwick shire" (pp 83-4).

The fact of a "living landscape" must be borne in mind and the changes which would have come about with the passage of time. In the absence of evidence to date these arrangements to the early Medieval period, it could be concluded that they came into being with the end of the central authority of the church, in the ninth century, as a result of the raids by the Scots and Vikings. It is not definite that settlement in the land in the Tweed-Leader-White Adder block was as sparse as the distribution of known settlement-remains of later Prehistoric or early Medieval date, would imply (Fig I.1). The concentration of settlement-remains around the upper Leader, along with the caer -element place-name of Carfrae (p 103) and the long-cist cemetery at Addinston (p 245), would fit with the cirice -element place-name of Channelkirk, which implies a meeting-place (p 133). As would the connection between Channelkirk and Lauder and Carfrae, the latter two being chapels of the first by the twelfth century (Cowan.1967.30, 128). These imply but do not prove an early Medieval land-block or lordship in the upper Leader basin, possibly originating in late Prehistoric times and eventually providing the basis for the lordship of Lauderdale in the twelfth century. There is another coincidence of concentrations of evidence, around the Adder watercourses, where most of the places which are mentioned

in the shire of Berwick are situated, along with a concentration of place-names of Old English origin (p 122) (Fig I.1) and an apparent concentration of defended settlement remains (Fig 4.1). The parishes of Berwick-on-Tweed, Lamberton and Mordington, Foulden and Chirnside lie between the Tweed-Leader-White Adder and Coldingham-related land-blocks, but came to be included in "Berwick-shire". The implication being that they were connected with the land-block south and west, they could have been so since the initial Anglian settlement in the area. The "double" parish of Bunkle and Preston lies between a bend in the Adder and the old Crachochtrestrete paved way over Bunkle Edge (p 36). Like the vicinity of Duns, it lies in apparent association with a concentration of defended settlements which were possibly occupied during the Roman period. It was a "shire" with recognised marches and limits by the mid-twelfth century, belonging to the Bishop of Dunkeld, (Cowan. 1967.22, 133), implying organisation and importance before that date.

For the land in the upper White Adder basin, around Penshiel, Longformacus and Abbey St Bathans, evidence for the settlement and economy in this period is very limited. Since the place-name evidence does not imply early Anglian settlement in this part of the area. The climatic evidence is for a deterioration up to the eighth century (p 12), so that there might have been a contraction of settlement in the same part. The fact that the upper White Adder basin lies within the territory of the later lordship of Dunbar and Penshiel

was a chapel of the related church or St Bees (Cowan.1967. 50), could imply later reorganisation of landholdings, though this evidence only indicates the possibility.

This evidence is very slight and could be regarded as not strictly relevant since it includes no artefactual or structural evidence and relates to the time either before or after the Anglian occupation. It does not provide any information on the oddly isolated site of Polwarth or why Swinton became so important a place in the later Medieval period (Barrow.1973.30, 305-6). It could be concluded that the land within and related to the Tweed-Leader-White Adder land-block was sparsely inhabited during the early Medieval period, being concentrated in certain parts, such as around the rivers and the well-drained uplands. Territorial arrangements did not always respect the rivers which are referred to as boundaries and often spanned them, as in other parts of the Tweed-Forth area. Indeed, the reference to the rivers in the documents could imply that the land around them, on both sides, was included. Settlement was possibly fairly fluid and organisation with definite boundaries might only have developed in the period between the disruption of the ninth century and the documentation in the twelfth. As it is, too much can be implied or assumed and not enough reliably proven.

It was suggested above that the twelve-settlement land-grant in the Bowmont valley was part of a larger land-block which was centred on the Bowmont and Kale valleys and is indicated by the parishes of Yetholm, Morebattle and Mow,

Hownam and possibly Linton (p 161) (Fig I.2). While the Tweed-Leader-White Adder land-block can be inferred as having its principal centres at Old Melrose and Sprouston, those for this latter possible land-block are not identified by documents or artefacts and structures. There is only the implication that Yetholm might have had such a function since it was the first name in the list of settlements in the Historia de S. Cuthberto and was at the head of the Bowmont valley. There is also the possibility that More-battle was the centre for the Kale valley, since it had a bothl -element place-name and was the site of a church before 1118 which was owned by the see of Glasgow (p 88). The parish of Hownam is a late development since the estate of Whitton lay on both sides of the present parish boundary, as early as the twelfth century (Barrow.1973.261). The question of continuity between British and Anglian settlement could be seen in the fact that the farm of Clifton, which is mentioned in the list of twelve settlements, lies in a separate piece of land from a settlement of later Prehistoric or Romano-British type at NT 815216 on the territory of Wood-side Farm (RCAHMS.1956.360). This underlines the fact that there has been much subdivision of the land of this possible block in later Medieval times, among the monasteries of Kelso and Melrose and later Norman settlers. Because of the lack of work on the locations of the places which are mentioned, it is not possible to try to piece them together in an attempt to reconstruct the older land-units. Barrow has shown that the possessions of the Corbet family in the barony of Wark

in the twelfth century were influenced by the twelve-settlement grant in the Bowmont valley, crossing the border between England and Scotland (1973.34), though he is of the opinion that this was "an old shire in decay".

The concentration of the remains of settlements of later Prehistoric and Romano-British type in these two river-valleys (Fig I.2) has already attracted notice above (pp 161-2). It has also been remarked that all but one of the settlements named in the land-grant lie around Yetholm, with Sourhope lying 17 miles up the Bowmont, apparently in the midst of a concentration of defended settlements (p 73). If this is seen with the noticeable lack of Old English place-names referring to settlements, in both valleys, the impression given is of the Angles controlling the possible land-block but not settling there in as much density as north of the Tweed. With the exceptions of Yetholm, Atton, Clifton, Morebattle and Whitton, there is only Chesterhouse near Hownam (NT 773204) and the possible caer-element place-name of, 'The Gair' near Sourhope (p 104; NT 858212) (Fig I.2) to show settlement, by place-names. The reason for this could have been the gradual Anglian influence over several centuries, on an originally native British population, who resided in or near the settlements whose remains proliferate in the Kale and Bowmont valleys. Building work at Sourhope in 1968 turned up a single loom-weight of Anglian type from a shelf of land below the defended enclosure on Park Law (Fig II.3). Like the single tin-coated bronze annular brooch from the floor of the hut of the homestead at Crock

Cleugh, which could be Anglian in origin (Curle and Cree. 1947.154-5). The former could imply occupation during the time of the Anglian occupation, but has not been related to any contemporary structural remains.

There is the series of references in twelfth century charters to Mow or Molle its church and "Uctred filius Liulf" who might have been the lord of Molle or a person of similar rank to a thane, in around 1152 (Lawrie.CXCVI CXCVII). Since Mow lies in the land between Yetholm and Sourhope, it could be concluded that this was an already existing British minor chiefdom, which developed under Anglian overlordship, up to the twelfth century. The origins of the other large farms in the Kale-Bowmont vicinity, such as Chatto, Whitton and Greenhill in the Kale valley and Halterburn, Clifton, Attonburn and Calroust in the Bowmont valley are less definite. Lack of resources has prevented the author from being able to make a study of the area, such as I M Smith did for the valley of the Manor Water in Peebles-shire (1982.31-5). Though not all of the farm boundaries run along natural boundaries, such as watercourses or ridges (Fig I.2) it is difficult to separate the modern farms and the remains of the Medieval and early modern ones.

The desirability of the land in the Kale and Bowmont valleys, which attracted the nearby later Medieval monasteries (RCAHMS.1956.328) , can be traced partly to the natural attributes of fertile, well-drained soils (p 26). It could also be traced to the development of the land-block in the centuries leading up to the post-Roman period. The possible

origins of the cultivation-terraces in the Bronze Age have been touched on above (pp 166-7) though there is no known evidence for the earliest use of them in the Kale or Bowmont valleys. The considerable extent of terraces in this vicinity shows the demand placed on the land by the inhabitants, that the steeper slopes needed to be cultivated. In his study of cultivation-terraces, Graham tentatively suggested that they might have resulted from Anglian influence and settlement (1939.310), though he has acknowledged the difficulty of dating these and their origins. The fact that so many groups have survived points to changes in farming practice and areas of cultivation and Graham has tentatively dated this to the Sixteenth or Seventeenth Century, as a result of the Anglo-Scottish wars (1939.311). The fact that this was also a period of climatic deterioration (Parry.1978.82), could have been the primary reason for the contraction of cultivation in the two valleys.

Ideally there should be a study of the individual land-holdings which came to be associated with each of the twelve places mentioned in the land-grant in the Bowmont valley. The problem is the extent of the associated pieces of land, their original extent and any changes that would have taken place between the granting of the land in the Seventh Century (p 78) and the recording of changes and sub-divisions in the twelfth century and later. It is this "gap" period which means that the documentary evidence only allows for study of later Medieval developments. An example of this is the fact that Shereburgh, possibly the Scerbedle of the land grant,

is in the present land of Clifton, which is mentioned in the land grant as Cliftun and as separate. There is no real archaeological evidence to support the record of the Anglian settlement and influence at these twelve named places, apart from the loom-weight from Sourhope. This lies in a noticeable concentration of settlement-remains, which could be of any date from the Prehistoric to the later Medieval period (Fig I.2). The implication could be that it was deliberately sited in relation to the smaller British land-holdings, though these can only be suggested, as with the allegedly "Dark Age" defended settlements, such as at Burnt Humbleton, by Yetholm itself (p 149). The only reason to agree with the Royal Commission's tentative dating of Moat Knowe Buchtrig or Chatto Craig, to the post-Roman period (p 149), apart from the apparent similarities to defended settlement-remains which are found north of the Forth, is that they seem to lie away from the Old English place-names. Since they are unexcavated, it might be rash to try to connect Moat Knowe settlement (NT 779137) with the farm and lands of Buchtrig, or Chatto Craig (NT 767167) with the farm of Chatto and its related lands, the "forts" as the predecessor of the farms. Near the defended settlement of Woden Law and "Dere Street" (Fig I.2), the scooped settlement at Hangingshaw Sike (NT 764134) has an arrangement of stones in its interior which seems to mark the foundations of a bow-sided building, of 12 by 2.7 metres and 3.6 metres across the middle (RCAHMS.1956.176-7). This would thus be identical in plan to a structure identified by Smith in the field-system

in Glenrath in the Manor valley (D E S 1982.3), which was 16 by 4 metres and had bowed side-walls. What these two structures, possibly of Germanic inspiration or construction - Old English or Norse Viking - imply, can only be shown by excavation, since they could have been built by Anglian settlers in a British context or by Britons under Germanic influence.

This is not satisfactory; it is very difficult to try to understand the settlement and economy of this piece of land in the time of the Anglian occupation if there is no real understanding of the settlement and economy in the pre-Anglian period. Without excavation and datable artefacts, it would be too easy to construct various hypotheses and conjectures on the basis of the recorded land-grant, the parish boundaries, the settlement-remains and the datable artefacts. If the land within the parishes of Linton, Morebattle, Hownam, Yetholm and Mow did form a distinct land-block, there is no evidence that it had an "over-chief" of any kind, at least in the early Medieval period. The sub-division of the land in the later Medieval period needs to be studied, though more excavation and study of settlement-remains is equally important, to check the possible relationship between defended settlements and later Medieval farmsteads. The question of burial-sites and later churches needs to be discussed below (pp 356-358), though there is reason to believe that Yetholm was connected with Kirknewton, the church site which replaced the major centre at Yeavering (Barrow.1973.34-5). This brings up the question of the

relationship of the Bowmont-Kale land-block to Yeavering, since the latter place lay further downstream from Yetholm (p 119). The matter of the relationship between Yeavering and the concentration of settlement-remains in the lower slopes of the Cheviots is in need of examination, not only as regards tribal or economic arrangements before the Anglian takeover, but during the time of Northumbrian control. Aerial photography has shown a large defended enclosure east of Morebattle, on the spur above the bend in the Kale Water (NT 780252), which has similar dimensions to the initial defended enclosure at Sprouston, just over 100 by around 200 metres (RCAHMS.RX/1479, 1480). Investigation of the site and its related crop-mark features might show whether it was the site of the original bothl or merely a Prehistoric settlement which is not related at all to Morebattle and the early church.

Until J Barber's survey of the Bowmont valley is completed or some more excavation has been done of the settlement-remains in the Bowmont-Kale land-block, it is not possible to come to any reliable conclusions about the settlements and economy during the time of the Anglian occupation. The density of settlement-remains in this part of the Tweed-Forth area, compared to nearby parts, shows that it was probably quite well-developed by the time of the Anglian takeover and the Angles did have overlordship but did not seem to settle in noticeable numbers. They probably took over the already existing power-structure so that the area, its inhabitants and economic or social arrangements developed on already

established patterns. Whether the eighth century brought any related religious or economic changes, remains to be proven. If the "Eccles Cairn" was a meeting-place for religious activities, for people on both sides of what is now the Border, there is no known date for its being superseded. If there were basic land-units in the land-block, their boundaries have been disrupted by the later Medieval land-divisions among the monasteries of Kelso, Melrose and Paisley (Jeffrey A.1864.III.231, 232, 273, 276). The whole matter of settlement and economy in the Kale-Bowmont area, from the late Roman period until the later Medieval period, is worthy of a study in itself.

There are no recorded territorial arrangements for the land between the Kale-Bowmont area and the Jed Water valley and it could be concluded from the lack of settlement-remains which have been identified, the land there was sparsely occupied or was moorland in early Medieval times. The large stretch of land from south of Sprouston, between the Teviot and the Kale, consisting of the later parishes of Lempitlaw, Eckford, Crailing and Oxnam has a noticeable concentration of settlement-remains around Oxnam and apparently nowhere else. Thus Oxnam can be seen as being deliberately sited to use earlier British arrangements and it is interesting to note that it seems to have retained its pre-Norman structure. This is as the centre of a large parish with no central village but a series of farm settlements, which are concentrated around the parish centre and outlying, upland pasture for grazing and shielings, which

existed by the mid-twelfth century at Riccalton (NT 731120) (Barrow.1973.261). The other tun-element place-names, like Rennieston, Samieston and Cunzierton, can be seen as the products of Anglian influence or settlement development at some time between the seventh and seventeenth centuries. It is interesting to note that the parish boundary of Oxnam respects and uses the Roman road on its east side but not on the north, where the boundary overlaps the road by up to three kilometres. This could reflect differing pressure on land, the road being used because no boundary was necessary in pre-Roman times. On the east, the route of the road along the Kale Water-Oxnam Water watershed is along a natural boundary. The northern part is away from this concentration and could reflect a similarly old extension of territory associated with Oxnam, into moorland across which the road was cut. This is very much speculation, though the place-name Oxnam, literally 'settlement (associated with) oxen', could indicate that cattle or oxen were particularly important in this territorial grouping in early Medieval times.

There is a record of a land-block in association with Jedburgh or Gedwearde, in the Historia de S Cuthberto, which appears to have lain south of the Teviot between the junction of it and the Jed Water and Wilton west of Hawick and was an estate of the Bishop of Lindisfarne, not of the monastery there (pp 420-430). The directions given in the Historia de S Cuthberto are not agreed on by the authorities, though the block could consist of the land between the Jed Water and the "Catrail" linear earthwork which could

have marked grazing-limits in Prehistoric times (p 165-7). The land south of the Teviot, between the Jed and Wilton is very fertile (Fig 1.2) and St Cuthbert is recorded as being active in conversion and baptism there in the mid-seventh century (p 62) which shows that, though this part of the Tweed-Forth area was inhabited in this period, it was not Christian. Reference has been made above to the large defended settlements at the Dunion between the Jed and Rule Waters, Bonchester Hill in the upper Rule basin and Rubers Law between the Slitrig and Rule Waters, as possible evidence for social and economic organisation in this part of the Tweed-Forth area in pre-Roman times (pp 160-161). Thus this large land-block could be seen as being made up from several lesser territorial arrangements, as with the other two recorded land-blocks in the Tweed basin, which have been considered above. The parish-boundaries west of the Teviot-Jed confluence respect the former watercourse, while those parishes east of this point do not (Fig I.5). This could reflect the recorded land-block and its lingering influence and the way that the relevant parish-boundaries, those of Jedburgh, Southdean, Hobkirk, Bedrule, Cavers, Hawick, Roberton and Teviothead only occasionally follow natural boundaries such as Southdean reaching into the Rule valley, in spite of the former being centred in the upper Jed valley.

The concentration of <u>wic</u> -element place-names in the area of this land-block has been commented on as further evidence of this land-block as an estate, though only Hawick

lies east of Wilton and within the general boundary outlined in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (Fig I.5). The fact that Borthwick and Fenwick lie outside this boundary could be another example of the actual landholding being the land around and related to that within the boundaries, as well as that within it. There is, however, no record of when the land came under church control and it could have expanded beyond the general boundaries in the course of time. There is no record or evidence to suggest that there was a British "over-chief" for the land-block, before the Anglian occupation. If the long-cist cemetery at Jedburgh was definite and datable to the fifth to eighth centuries, it could be suggested that it was an already-established British centre and thus Gedwearde became the centre for the associated land by its proximity to this centre.

There is evidence that the religious centre of this land-block was at Cavers, with dependent chapels at Adderstonshiels, Spittal-on-Rule, Northouse, Carlanrig and Priesthaugh or Falnash (Fig I.5) (Watson G.1946). This church and at least one chapel, that at Adderstonshiels, are recorded in a later Norman source (p 427), though this does not automatically mean that all these chapels had their origins in the time of the pre-Norman period. If they do indicate a parochia which was related to this land-block, they show one which ran from the Rule Water to the Teviot basin above the "Catrail", though the Borthwick Water valley, south-west of Hawick is not included. The site of Carlanrig, with its caer -element place-name which seems to lie in

relation to the "Catrail", has attracted notice above as a possible centre of a British territorial arrangement (p 104). There is no apparent relationship between place-names and the concentration of settlement-remains which run from Kirkton Cavers to the Allen Water. This is apart from the intriguing association of Kirkton with the non-defended stone-walled settlement on Kirkton Hill (NT 537124) (p 135). Another possible example of this British-Anglian continuity is at Edgerston in the upper Jed valley, where this Old English place-name and associated farm with land has within it a defended settlement with a non-defended stone-walled settlement over it, which has yielded objects of Roman origin (RCAHMS.1956.225-9) as well as fragments of "Votad-inian"ware (p 152). This implies continuity between the pre-Anglian Britons and the Angles of Anglian-influenced Britons, but does not prove it conclusively since the alleged "Dark Age" defended settlement at White Hill (NT 673095) (p 149) is as yet unexcavated and lies within the Edgerston lands.

This relationship between the defended settlements which overlie defended settlements and later Medieval places of importance, like Southdean Law being near the site of Southdean church (p 372) is particularly difficult to draw reliable inferences from. It is difficult to see any mere coincidence between the situation of Bonchester Hill site being above the cirice -element place-name at Hobkirk, where some routes meet by a crossing over the Rule Water. Since the cirice -element place-name implies a meeting-

place (p 133),it does seem to imply some kind of local organisation, but only really datable to some time in the early Medieval period. The apparent implication is that the native British arrangements continued to develop under Anglian Northumbrian overlordship, though there was some movement within these arrangements.

Apart from Jedburgh itself, there is no artefactual evidence for the Anglian presence in this land-block, apart from a single loom-weight which came from somewhere near Chapel Haugh, Old Jedward (NT 670145) (Fig II.3). It could be suggested that this is proof of the site being where the second settlement of Gedwearde, which is mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto, was situated. Like the loom-weight from Sourhope by the Bowmont, it has not been related to any structure, so this does not prove very much. It only implies an Anglian settlement at the spot, which became the site of a chapel of the later abbey at Jedburgh, possibly reflecting the pre-Norman arrangement. The fact that the parish-boundary of Jedburgh makes a curious deviation to include land on the west bank of the Jed Water, around Old Jedward, from its course along the Jed Water itself (Fig I.5) could only reflect a later development, rather than one associated with the Anglian occupation.

As with the other evidence for land-blocks in the Tweed basin during the time of the Anglian occupation, this is rather limited and could reflect the state of the evidence as much as the arrangements which existed and were developing

at the time. The other similarity with the other possible land-blocks is the lack of evidence for organised burials until the Anglian period, in or after the eighth century (p 352). This possibly reflects the general state of social organisation among the native Britons, prior to the Anglian takeover. The stretches of open or uncultivated moorland, along with the later establishment of the abbey at Jedburgh and the castles at Hawick (RCAHMS.1956.6, 135) and Bedrule (Ibid.62) could have led to sub-division of parts of the land-block on lines which ignored older boundaries or were related to these later developments. This is supported by the lack of correlation between the rivers and the boundaries between Jedburgh and Southdean parishes. The place-name and religious evidence supports the conjectural extent of the land-block but not its recorded extent, which shows, again, the "living landscape".

There is no record of the British territorial arrangements in the land between the Tweed and Teviot rivers, except in the Inquisitio of the lands of the see of Glasgow (p 88). This might suggest some kind of arrangement in the valley of the Ale Water, from Ancrum to Tronie Hill, Lilliesleaf and Ashkirk, though supporting evidence for this is lacking, both in other documents and parish-boundaries. The fact that the Roman road was part of the boundary between the parishes of Nisbet, Ancrum, Roxburgh and Maxton (Figs I.4, 6) could imply that definite, marked boundaries between the landholdings, communities and church territories, were a relatively late development in this part of the Tweed-

Forth area. Only at the boundary between the parishes of Midlem and Bowden and that of Lilliesleaf, is there any apparent relationship with natural boundaries, namely the Ale Water and the Chesterknowes Burn (Fig I.6). The site of Midlem has attracted notice, due to its being an isolated ham -element place-name and apparently associated with the "Military Way" linear earthwork, possibly lying in open moorland in relation to native British settlements (p 119). The vicinity of Old Melrose was a recognisable land-unit after the sacking of the monastery by the Scots, in the ninth century, since David I referred to "dominio meo de Melros" in his Selkirk charter of 1118 (p 86) and might have been related to the linear earthwork called the "Military Road" as well.

There is no record of the exact extent of this land or evidence that it survived intact until the twelfth century; the establishment of the Cistercian monastery at Melrose could have led to other changes. Not least since some land from this same dominio was mentioned in the same charter as being given to the abbey at Selkirk, which was later moved to Kelso. The fact that the parish boundaries of Melrose Bowden and Midlem and St Boswells do not use the Roman road (Fig I.6) could suggest that they related to earlier landholdings but does not prove them as part of this "dominio de Melros". The place-names of Darnick and Buck-holm have been discussed above as possible products of being in the lands of the Anglian monastery (pp 128,129) and these both lie within the present boundaries of the parish of Melrose,

which straddles the Tweed watercourse, extending as far as Lauder. Smith has suggested that the Anglian monastery was deliberately sited in the bend in the Tweed so as to be on the east side of the Roman road, which marked the boundary between the Anglian and British territory (I.M. Smith. 1982.16-18). This presupposes that boundaries in the area were not fixed in any way until after the Roman period, which is possible, though it is difficult to fit this proposal with the positions of the Anglian place-names of Midlem and Darnick. The possibility is, as has been suggested above (p 183), that the Anglian monastery was deliberately sited to take advantage of a native British centre. Though in relation to the land in the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block, not the land south or west of the monastery. The intriguing concentration of "chester"-element place-names around Melrose (Figs 3.7, I.6) could be due to Anglian linguistic influence on the native British population. The whole vicinity of Eildon Hill and the land south of the Tweed-Leader confluence is a worthy subject of study, especially as regards its apparently surviving importance from Prehistoric until later Medieval times. This evidence relating to the immediate vicinity of Melrose in the time of the Anglian Northumbrian occupation provides no real information on the settlements or economy of this part of the Tweed-Forth area. Though consistent with the picture of Anglian control, with cultural influence and some limited settlement, it does not date the origins or possible use of the remains of a field-system on Bowden

Moor (Fig I.6) or give any real information about this vicinity in the early Medieval times. The site of Old Melrose has yet to receive any archaeological excavation and the surviving Anglian sources do not reveal anything of its vicinity. Field-work by Thomas has shown a paved way approaching the site of the monastery, apparently along a ridge from the Roman road at Eildon (1971.35). This place was the site of the battle between Aethelwold Moll. King of Northumbria and Oswine dux in 761 (p 265), which could further show that it was an important place for the meeting of routes. As with the crop-mark site at Eildon-tree Plantation (p 261), this piece of evidence lies somewhat in isolation and needs the support of further study before it can be truly informative.

The only really identifiable pattern in the land between the Tweed and Teviot watercourses, is the apparent relationship between possible lordship-centres and early burial-grounds. This can be seen in Nisbet burial-ground (p 359) lying within the same parish as the "Dark Age" defended enclosure at Peniel Heugh (RCAHMS.1956.124-6), the site of the old burial-ground at Ancrum (p 372) being below the site of the "Dark Age" defended settlement at Castle Hill (RCAHMS.1956.58-9) and the burial-ground of Old Roxburgh (p 358) lying within the same parish as the site of Roxburgh Castle (Fig I.4); this could have been the site of an Anglian burh on a naturally defensible site, which was also possibly the site of a native defended settlement. Excavation might show if these defended settlements were

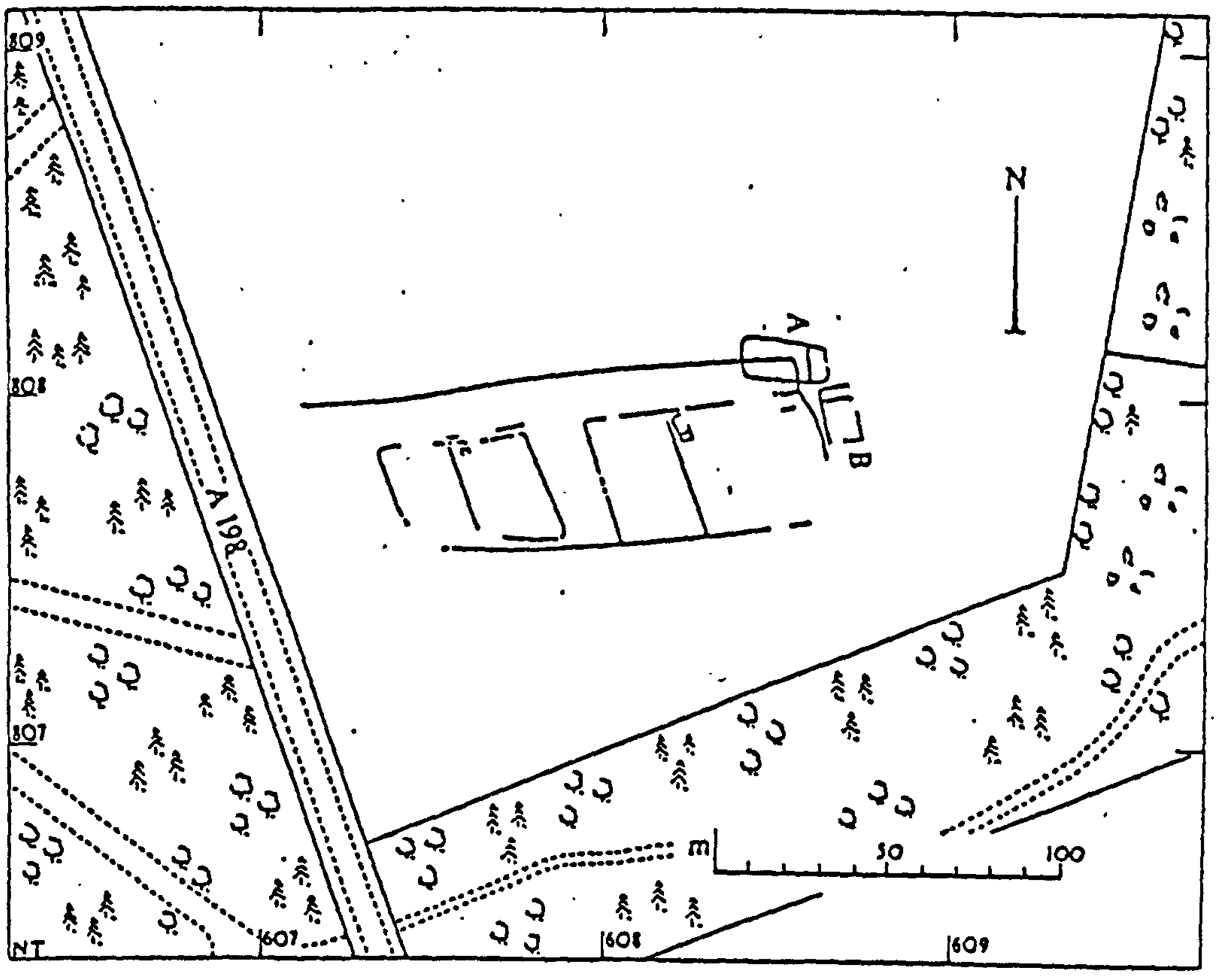
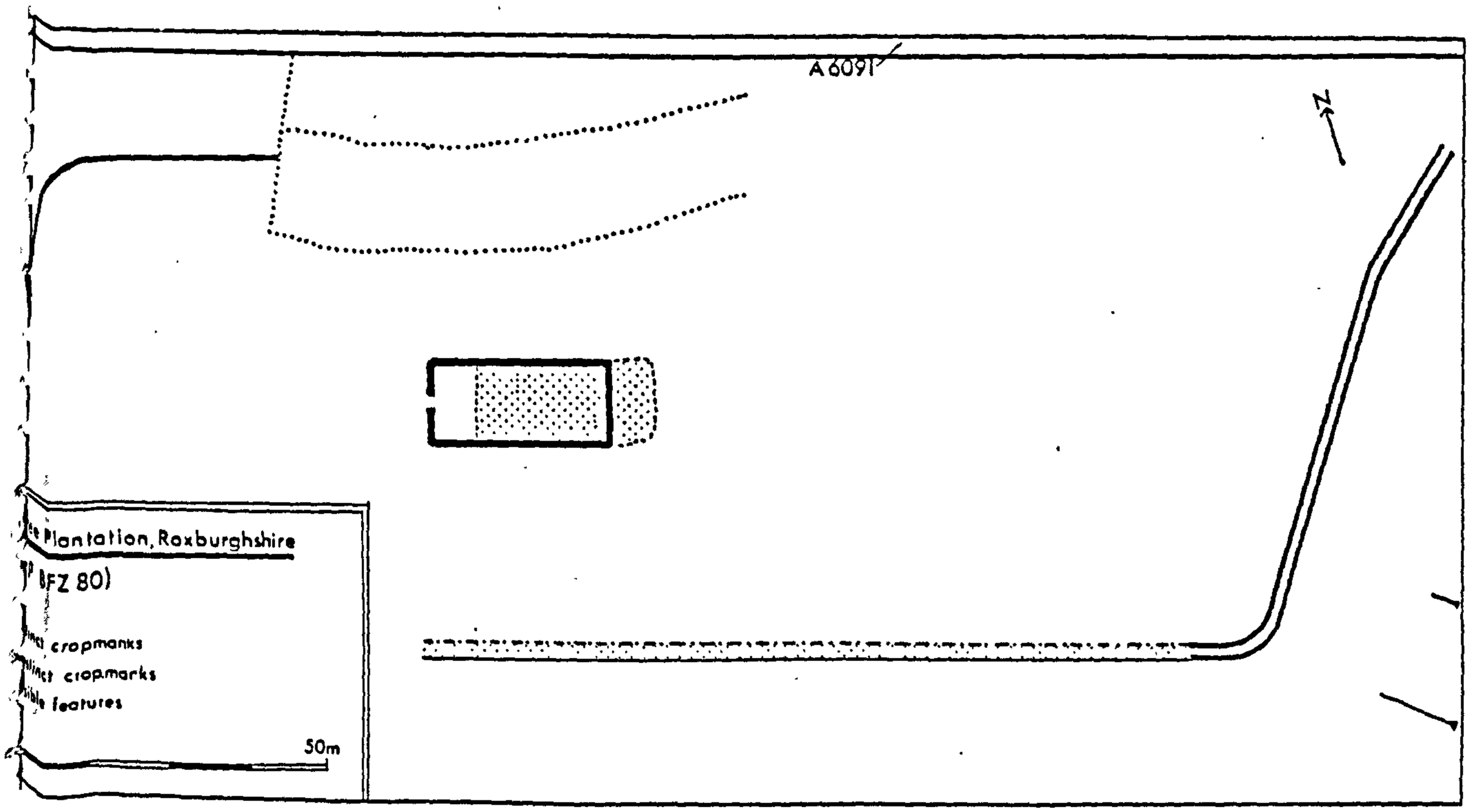


Figure 6.1
Whitekirk Crop-Mark Site, East Lothian (Brown M 1983)

Figure 6.2



occupied in the early Medieval period and up to the Scottish takeover of the Tweed-Forth area. It does not really show the related territories or the related settlements and this apparent pattern is not noticeable in the Tweed basin west of Galashiels. The cirice -element place-names at Ash-kirk on the Ale Water and Selkirk on the Ettrick Water (p 133) show some degree of organisation, mainly because they lie at the meeting-places of several important routes: Selkirk at the confluence of the Ettrick and Yarrow Waters and the routes across Minch Moor (p 32) and Ashkirk where the route from Hawick and the Borthwick Water to Galashiels meets the routes along the Ale Water. The problem is dating the final development of these place-names, whether they date to the earlier part of the Anglian occupation or resulted from the gradual spread of Anglian influence. That Selkirk was considered a fit position for an abbey and was the site of a royal manor by 1118, as shown by the Selkirk Charter (p 86), shows the importance of the site by the early twelfth century. The fact that Ashkirk was the site of a manor of the Bishop of Glasgow in the twelfth century (Cowan. 1967.9), does not necessarily imply special importance to the time of the Anglian occupation. This is because Ancrum had a similarly important manor of the Bishop of Glasgow, though there is no related evidence for major local importance (Cowan.1967.6). The basic problem is that both these places might not have been especially important until they came under the control of the see of Glasgow. Selkirk, on the other hand can also be related to the stretches of fertile land

on both sides of the Ettrick Water and at Caddonfoot on the other side of the Tweed. These were included in the later shire of Selkirk, so it was probably a centre for communities in the upper Ettrick valley and up to the watershed with the Gala Water, while being separate from Melrose. As with Ash-kirk, the evidence allows some inferences to be made about the possible origins and the resultant developments by the twelfth century, though not about developments between these two periods.

This is the case with the Gala basin and the parish of Stow-in-Wedale (Fig I.7). Stow literally meant "a meeting-place" and was taken over by the see of St Andrews, at some time after the Scottish takeover (Cowan.1967.189; Barrow. 1973.154). As with Bunkle and Preston, which came into the possession of the see of Dunkeld, the implication is that was attractive in some way to control by a distant overlord. Also, the implication is that this organisation developed by the later part of the Anglian occupation and the actual name Stow is not recorded until later Medieval times (p 136). The place-names of this parish have attracted notice in the fourth chapter since they seemed to show cultural cross-development, involving Brittonic, Old English and Gaelic elements (p 119). There are six non-defended settlements which overlie defended settlements, lying within the parish-boundary of Stow-in-Wedale, and lie in the same land as the farms with the names of Pirntaton or Watherston; this does not prove the presence of a British estate of six <u>trefi</u> as was recorded in early Medieval Welsh documents (p 190). The

dispute between the see of St Andrews and the monastery of Melrose, in the late twelfth century, over the bounds of their respective lands (Chalmers.1810. 2 .152) fits with the coet -element place-names. These imply partially wooded land, without agreed boundaries, in the hills between the valleys of the Gala and Leader Waters, by the twelfth century. The site of the chapel of St Mary at Stow could be seen as the site of the meeting-place for the settlements in the valley which gave it the name Stow (p 370) (Fig 7.6). None of the defended settlements have been excavated and shown to have been occupied in the post-Roman or early Medieval period and the probability is that the expansion of cultivation at the time of Enclosure has removed settlement or cultivation-remains. The defended settlement at Muirhouse above Stow (NT 464451) has had its removal and site recorded on the first Ordnance Survey in 1857 but no details appear to have been kept of any finds.This gives intriguing but limited information on this part of the Tweed-Forth area. Intriguing since the place-names, the coincidences of settlement-remain, the Stow name and the early possession by St Andrews point to importance and significance by the time of the Scottish takeover. Limited because the definite artefactual evidence to support these inferences and show the developed continuity and development of the valley and its settlements has not yet been identified. As with the broch at Edins Hall and the White Adder valley, there is no way to prove a connection between the two brochs, at Bow and Torwoodlee and the possible land-block in the Gala valley.

The example of I M Smith's study of the Manor valley (1982.31-5) shows the development of territorial and social arrangements in the tributary valleys of the upper Tweed basin. Though probably under Anglian overlordship and open to some influence and settlement, as implied by Glensax near Peebles and Dawick near Stobo (pp 125,128) this was essentially a British part of the Tweed-Forth area and not strictly relevant to this part of the study. Smith was wise not to try to put any dates to the developments, since the Manor valley seems to have developed without outside interference from the Prehistoric period until the later Middle Ages. The property boundaries in the Gala valley (Fig I.7) are not really traceable to the Prehistoric period. The later expansion of cultivation seems to have removed groups of cultivation-terraces, the traces of which can be seen in certain lights, as at NT 435458-445453 on the Stagehall lands and NT 475404, so it is not easy to make comparisons with the Manor valley.

The importance of Peebles in the pre-Anglian period and later has already been discussed above (p 213), though there is no information of developments between the eighth and twelfth centuries. The inferred relationship between religious connections and landholdings could imply that the association of Eddleston (or Penteiacob), Stobo and Traquair, with Peebles, in the Inquisitio document for the lands of the see of Glasgow in 1119 (p 28), shows territorial association by the early twelfth century. This is not valid evidence since the four places are not mentioned in one group.

If Peebles was the religious centre for the upper Tweed basin, the territorial or tribal centre might have been situated elsewhere, if there was one before the twelfth century. The reference to an "ecclesia" at Traquair, in the same document could show that it was associated with a lesser land-block, a possibility implied by the presence of a caer-element place-name in association with the defended settlement at Cardrona in the same parish (p 104) (NT 302372). The fact that the church at Stobo was the centre of the later parishes of Broughton, Dawick, Drummelzier, Lyne and Tweedsmuir, by the twelfth century (p 378), which is all the upper Tweed valley beyond Peebles, could imply an early Medieval estate in this part of the valley. As was pointed out with regard to Tinnis Castle and the dinas-element place-name near Drummelzier (p 99), there is no other proof of this inference being correct. The other possibility is that the upper Tweed valley consisted of a series of loosely connected groupings, as at Manor until the as yet undated expansion of Strathclyde and the see of Glasgow into this part of the Tweed-Forth area caused a degree of development into larger units. The parishes of West Linton, Broughton, Glenholm and Kilbucho could be inferred as having originated from similar small land-blocks and it is similarly not possible to take these inferences much further. The later parish of Heriot has the caer-element place-name of Carcant and the important through route (p 307). However, this is not proof enough that it was another lesser land-block, like that around Stow.

With the land-block around Coldingham (Fig I.8), any discussions of settlement and economy can be based on more reliable evidence. The settlement-groupings around the Pease Burn gorge, west of St Abbs Head and in the Eye basin have already received notice above (p 194). It has also been inferred that the land-block consisted of the later parishes of Aldcambus, Coldingham, Ayton and Eyemouth and originally consisted of the three aforementioned settlement-groupings, which were related in some way. The possibility also was that the Angles took over this loose arrangement and centred it on their possible 3-hectare double palisaded enclosure which stood on Kirk Hill on St Abbs Head (p 182). The place-name Coldingham, with the inga-element has also been discussed as possible evidence of organisation (p 124), and it is probably significant that this place was situated by St Michael's Knowe, which was possibly the central British burial-place for the associated communities (p 221). Whether this "tribal" organisation refers to Anglian settlers alone or to both the Angles and the Britons, is not known. Aldcambus with its Gaelic place-name and harbour (p 84), like Ayton (Eye-tun) with its crossing over the Eye Water (Fig I.8), were important places. They might even have become lesser centres within the larger land-block, by the twelfth century.

The twelve-settlement estate, which is mentioned in Edgar's grant of 1095, could be seen as a list of lesser centres, of the principal places in lesser settlement-groupings, though this list represents the whole arrangement

or series of arrangements after the disruptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. Lumsdaine might lie in the midst of the concentration of settlement-remains west of St Abbs Head, but this does not prove that it was an Anglian settlement which superseded a British one as could be suggested at Earns Heugh (NT 893692) which lies on the interestingly-named Tunlaw . Unlike Mailros where the association with the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block can only be inferred rather than proven, with Colodaesbyrig the related land-block is recorded in the 1095 land-grant. The use of urbs in the name of the monastery, by Bede (p 69) , could show the function of the place as the economic centre of the estate (p 187), though this interpretation of the use of the word is not accepted by relevant authorities, like Campbell, who interprets it as another word for a fortification (1979.47). Since the inhabitants of monasteries, a double one in the case of Colodaesbyrig , did not till the land to serve themselves, it is only inevitable that they were given land and territorial arrangements which could keep them supplied with necessary food and raw materials. The fact that the monastery, or nunnery, existed from the mid-seventh century until the late ninth (p 395), would have established the tradition, for want of a better word, of unity, which survived until the drawing-up of the 1095 charter.

The greater concentration of named settlements in the lowlands by the Eye has been noted above (p 82) and would fit with the record of Coldingham Moor, the associated stretch of uncultivated land which, by 1782, covered most

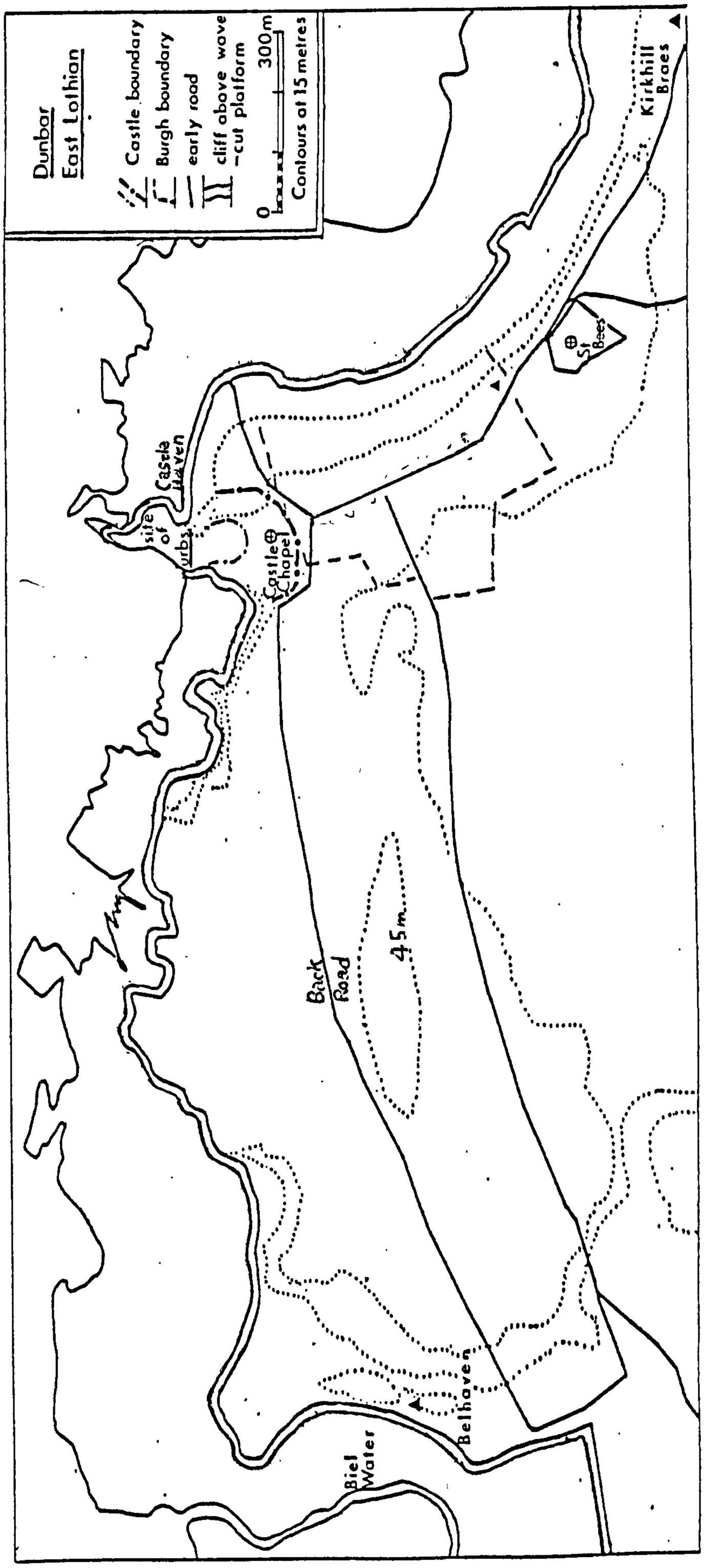
of the land away from the Eye Water (Fig I.8), showing that most of the cultivated land lay in the latter part before the Enclosure. Field-walking and examination of recorded remains in the Eye valley has failed to show many settlement-sites in association with, for example, Prenderguest and Reston. In his list of "chester"-element place-names, Craw lists examples within the lands of Coldingham, which compares with the number of examples known in the vicinity of Melrose (p 303) though the implications of this are not clear (p 141). These could show settlements other than those recorded in the 1095 charter, though none of the places bearing the name have been shown to have been occupied or settled in the time of the Anglian occupation. The sites of settlements which were occupied in early Medieval times, in the lands of Coldingham, have yet to be investigated, mainly because they have yet to be identified. There can be little doubt that the monastery of Colodaesbyrig and the associated lands are worthy of a study in themselves; what has been identified would seem to allow for the study covering a time-period from Prehistoric until later Medieval times (Fig I.8). The fact that the landholding consisted of twelve named vills like the twelve trefi in early Medieval Welsh documents (p 189) as late as the eleventh Century, is most significant, though this has been neglected by most authorities on the early Medieval period.

It has been suggested that the land-block which lay within the limits "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" was originally related to the urbs regis at Dunbar and only

later became associated with the monastery at Tyninghame (p 259). It is also interesting to note that the present west boundary of East Lothian, which runs from the Lammermuirs to the Forth, not far from Eskmouth, does not follow the line of the Roman road, which could mean that the parish-boundaries which form the county limits, follow pre-Roman lines (Figs I.9, 13). This particular part of the Tweed-Forth area could thus have been another pre-Anglian series of arrangements and the difference between it and the lower Tweed basin being reflected in the place-names, most notably the three possible ingaham -element examples.

The site of the hall and enclosure on Doon Hill has been discussed above (pp 257-258), though there is no evidence that this was the site of the urbs regis As Alcock has pointed out, the far more likely site for this was where the later castle of the Earls of Dunbar and March was built (1981a.174-5). The frequent sieges and demolitions or rebuilding which the site was prone to, in later Medieval times, has much reduced the site of the castle, which was even further truncated by the construction of the New Harbour, which removed a third of the former area (MacIvor.1981.96). Even so, as Alcock has pointed out, this would have meant an area larger than that of some other fortifications (1981a, 175), which might have been as much as 217 square metres originally. No artefacts of Anglian date have been noted on the site of the castle or the immediate environs. The economic function of an urbs is clearly reflected in the two landing-places in the vicinity, at Belhaven and Castle Haven (p 41) (Figs 6.3, I.10). The

Figure 6.3


Dunbar
East Lothian
Castle boundary
Burgh boundary
early road
cliff above wave-cut platform
0 300m
Contours at 15 metres
Kirkhill Braes
St Bees
Castle Haven
site of burgh
Castle Chapel
Back Road
45m
Belhaven
Biel Water

two or three long-cist cemeteries, at Belhaven, Kirkhill Braes and north of the church have already been referred to as proof of importance relating to the place in pre-Anglian times (p 224). The site on Doon Hill has been suggested as having been the ritual and economic centre for the vicinity, in pre-Anglian times (pp 176-181). So that the site at Dunbar came to replace it, possibly as a result of the greater suitability of the site for the Angles' purposes. The extent of Anglian constructions at urbs regis Dynbaer need not have consisted of more than the residence of the praefectus on the site of the present castle, with a scatter of settlement-remains around the landing-places and the routes (Fig 6.3). As at Melrose and the Tweed-Leader confluence, the important places of the urbs could have been distributed over a certain area, rather than being in close proximity, since Doon Hill lies 4 kilometres south of Dunbar (Fig I.10).

When the church at Dunbar was erected to collegiate status, in the fifteenth century, the present parish churches of Whittingham, Spott, Stenton, along with the lost churches at Hedderwick and Pinkerton, were dependent chapels of St Bees (Cowan.1967.80). This would give the church at Dunbar a very large parish and the possibility is that this preserves what remained of the dependent lands of Dunbar, by later Medieval times: the land between the Dry Burn, on the east and the watershed between the Whittinghame Water and the Tyne, (Fig I.10). This is what would have remained by the post-Anglian period, so they could have

been more extensive originally. The fact that these parish-boundaries follow ridges or watercourses, as west of the Whittinghame Water, could reflect later division along older limits. The inference could be that this possible land-block was the economically direct dependent land of Dunbar, the rest of the larger land-block being related as was discussed above, being dependent on lesser centres who acknowledged Dunbar as their over-lord (p 202). It is also possibly significant that only one large long-cist cemetery is known in this lesser land-block, at Luggate Burn (Fig I.10) others which have been identified being small ones. Thus it is possible that the limits of the lesser land-block might be pre-Anglian in origin, such as in the Almond valley, where there was one large long-cist cemetery in one parish (p 221).

The land between the Dry Burn and the Pease Burn is not recorded as being dependent on Dunbar in any way other than by lying north of the Lammermuirs. What is interesting is that Oldhamstocks seems to lie exactly half-way from Bunkle to Dunbar (p 36). It is possible that this place was one of the lesser centres of the larger land-block, though settlement-remains of the early Medieval period remain to be identified. Barrow has noted that the parish boundaries of Oldhamstocks and Innerwick, like those of the Dunbar chapels, extend into the upper Lammermuirs, with shielings at Penshiel and Gamelshiel (Fig I.10) (Barrow. 1973.261). As with the extent of Dunbar Common, which is subdivided by the parishes of Whittingham, Stenton and

Spott, showing the relative ages of these territorial divisions, there is a lack of evidence to date them earlier than the twelfth century. The "climatic optimum" of this latter period would have made cultivation or exploitation of the higher parts easier (p 11), though there is no information which could trace developments or boundaries earlier than the establishment of the earldom of Dunbar and March in 1072. This dating which comes from the Historia Regum , and has been attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis (Anderson.1908.199), is not exact and only refers to Malcolm III giving Cospatric "Dunbar with the lands adjacent to it in Lothian". There is thus the possibility that some, unspecified territory was associated with Dunbar before the establishment of the earldom there and it could have consisted of the land which has been discussed on this and the previous page. It is unfortunate that, of the three possible wic -element place-names, which seem to be related, the Berwick Burn near Oldhamstocks, Innerwick and Hedderwick (p 128), only the last is definite and lies near to Dunbar.

This same place is claimed by the charter of Duncan II of 1094, for Tyninghame (p 81), which would fit with the suggestion which has been made that the monastery there was set up in relation to the urbs regis Dynbaer and its larger land-block (p 195). Of the six named settlements in the document, only two, Hedderwick and Broxmouth lie outside of the later parish of Tyninghame. If it were not for the indications in the document that the monastery and its associated lands had been taken over by the see of St Andrews

before 1094, it could be proposed that this was a six-trefi settlement of British origin (Fig 7.14). The probability is that the monastery was set up in the lands of the Anglian settlement at Tyninghame, related to the settlement but not identical to it (p 259). The fact that one of the named settlements is Knowes, which is also the site of a large long-cist cemetery, could further indicate that the Tyninghame lands followed those of an older, British predecessor, like the parishes around the River Almond (p 221). There has been no archaeological investigation in this piece of land and aerial photography has only brought to light the crop-mark site beside Binning Wood, across the Peffer Burn from Whitekirk. As Brown has remarked, this consists of two possible buildings; "A" measures 23 by 11 metres in extent, while "B" measures 16 by 9 metres in extent and seems to have had two possible phases of building (Brown.1983.156) (Fig 6.1). This also appears to have been overlain by a rectilinear enclosure, almost 140 by 50 metres in extent, with some smaller enclosures within it, which could have been a later Medieval settlement with individual house-plots (Ibid.157-9). There are no actual known dates for these two phases and constructions and they, like the other crop-mark site at Eildontree Plantation (p 261), could belong to any time during the Anglian occupation. Suitably enough, this crop-mark site can not be related to any early place-names, nor can it be related to the lost Fordam which is mentioned in the Holyrood Charter as having a hospital and being related to Hamere, the former name for

Whitekirk (p 91). The site could be assumed to have originated as an Anglian settlement in the Tyninghame lands, like Aldham and the lost "Pefferham", though it needs to be excavated and more accurately dated, before it could be assumed to have been early.

If this possible land-block or lesser estate is indicated by the later estates of Tyninghame and Aldham, it is not easily related to the previous, British settlements. It has been suggested that the castle at Tantallon was a British defended settlement (p 100) and field-walking by the author in 1984 has located two further possible defended settlements at Ravensheugh Hill (NT 629814) and at Whitberry Point (NT 637813) (Fig 7.19). The inga-element of Tyninghame shows some organisation, as with Coldingham and the former site of this settlement appears to have been on the end of a gravel ridge, with extensive views in most directions, as far south as the Lammermuirs, which would explain its siting (Fig 7.14). The fact that the place was sacked by the Vikings in 841 would also seem to indicate that there was a landing-place in close proximity, though the exact site or extent of the monastery is not known (p 415). It is not possible to associate Tyninghame with these settlement-remains of possibly Prehistoric date, since the latter are unexcavated. This is unfortunate since some occupation of these might have existed in early Medieval times.

The fact that the church at East Linton or Prestonkirk was dedicated to St Baldred, like that at Aldham which is

recorded in Duncan's charter as being a dependency of Tyninghame (p 81), could indicate that the former was dependent as well. This is not proven and the fact that it could have been an ingaham -element place-name Lyne-ryngham (p 123) could imply organisation and origins as another lesser centre in the larger land-block related to Dunbar, since the parish lies on both sides of the East Lothian Tyne watercourse. The importance of the place can be related to the crossing of the Tyne nearby, by ford or the later bridge. As at Ancrum and Bedrule in the Tweed basin, the old parish-church lies at a distance from the present settlement, of East Linton, showing settlement-shift in later times. The connection between Tyninghame and Lyneryngham might have been within the larger Dunbar-related land-block, as might have been the case between the monastery of Mailros and the settlement at St Boswells (Fig I.6) (p 391) and the church and its dedication being post-Anglian in origin, might have merely reflected local tradition (p 414). The parish-boundaries of Prestonkirk probably do no more than reflect its position in relation to the lands of Tyninghame, Dunbar and Haddington, lying between these important places. Half of the parish lay south of the Tyne including Traprain Law and the settlements indicated by the Brittonic place-names of Cairndinnis and Traprain (p99). This could imply that native British inhabitants maintained their cultural identity throughout the Anglian occupation and the parish incorp-orated the lands related to these settlements. As above,

these facts only infer continuity of settlements and lands over the early Medieval period, they do not prove it. The land of the later parish of Whitekirk, between the Pilmuir and Peffer Burns, as with the land around Waughton, which has become attached to the parish of East Linton, cannot be related to any early Medieval settlements either. It would be stretching inference to relate Whitekirk with the Romano-British settlement at New Main (MacInnes.1983.171, 173) (Fig 7.14), or the latter to the castle at Waughton (Fig I.11).

Within the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" land-block there are two bothl -element place-names, at Eldbotle and at Bolton. The former has been related to the caer - element place-name of Karmurdac (p 133) and the latter to the large enclosure of The Chesters and Eaglescarnie (p 132). The former is particularly interesting because Eldbotle became an important manor of the kings of Scotland until the reign of Malcolm IV (Lawrie.LXXVIII.1128, CLVII. 1143; Barrow.1980.263). Unfortunately the land relating to it was given to the De Vaux family by Malcolm IV who chose the site of Dirleton for their castle (Simpson and Webster 1985, 17,23) and the site of Eldbotle lies under recently-planted woodland. Repeated field-walking of the site, by the author, around the knoll centred at NT 502856, has failed to locate any traces, artefactual or structural, of the manor. The extent of the lands which were associated with Eldbotle, is not recorded though a possible hint is given by North Berwick which is a separate parish (Fig I.11).

Since the literal meaning of berwick is "outlying dependency of an estate" (p 84), and it lies away from the lands of Tyninghame, it could be concluded that it was an outlying dependency of the lands of Eldbotle. This is not conclusive proof, though the parishes of Eldbotle's possible minster church at Gullane (p 443) and North Berwick do make a topographically distinct unit, bounded by the eastern Peffer Burn, the moor around Whitekirk and the division between Aldham and Halfland (Fig I.11). None of the long-cist cemeteries which have been identified in the area of the possible lesser land-block are very large, so this possible indicator of a pre-Anglian land-unit is absent. The richness of the land has been noted in the Statistical Account in the eighteenth century (1792.1975.461) so the reason for its becoming a Royal manor is clear. Apart from the indications given by the parish-boundaries, there is no evidence which would show the extent of the land dependent on Eldbotle.

With Bolton, there is only really the literal meaning of the place-name (p 132), along with its apparent association with Eaglescarnie and Haddington (Barrow.1973.35), to imply importance in pre-Scottish times. The place did not become the site of a manor or landholding of especial significance However, the nearby later Medieval landholdings of Yester and Colston, like Saltoun and Haddington, might represent the lesser landholdings which developed with the end of the importance of Bolton. The possible large long-cist cemetery at Newton Hall (NT 519657) could indicate

another pre-Anglian landholding, though that might more suitably have been centred on Yester. The other possibility is that Bolton was the centre for several lesser territorial arrangements, which could have included Morham and Haddington. It might have been, like Eaglescarnie, a centre for communities around the central Tyne basin (Fig I.13). From the watershed between the Whittinghame-Biel Water and the Colstoun Water to the Tyne-Esk watershed, though this is speculation on the basis of the topography.

There is no other evidence that this grouping of lesser territorial units extended as far as the Garleton Hills. There is the argument that Haddington is the only other place in the topographical vicinity which might have been the other location of a centre. Indeed the place was recorded as being a royal centre with a thane by the time of David I (Barrow.1961.46). The place-name Morham has been referred to as possible evidence of uncultivated land. The siting of the Anglian cross there might be significant (p 120), as at Aberlady which was associated with Haddington by later Medieval times (Graham. 1969.212).

The caer -element place-names have an interesting distribution in this large land-block, being three in number, Karmurdac Carfrae and Carlaverock and in separate parishes which could have been examples of these lesser territorial arrangements. Karmurdac has been discussed above, in connection with Eldbotle while Carfrae lies in the parish of Garvald and Bara and Carlaverock in the parish of Tranent. Within Garvald parish there is one

of the large long-cist cemeteries, at Nunraw, which could indicate the presence of a pre-Anglian land-unit (p 221) (Fig I.10) and the place-name of Carfrae is associated with a defended settlement at NT 581693. Carlaverock is at NT 408713 and on the watershed between the Tyne and the Firth of Forth but is not associated with a known defended settlement. The parish of Garvald and Bara lies between the possible dependent lands of Bolton and those of Dunbar (Fig I.10) while Tranent lies between the Tyne-Forth watershed at Gladsmuir and the land around Inveresk (Fig I.9). The suggestion has been made above, that the caer -element place-names were the centres of British power at dates contemporary to the Anglian occupation and these two places were the centres for the territorial arrangements which survived as the later parishes (pp 104-105). The fact that the parish of Gladsmuir was created in 1692, from parts of the parishes of Tranent and Haddington (Cowan. 1967.73), gives a good example of religious territories being altered after changes in secular territories. There is a noticeable lack of Prehistoric settlement-remains and early place-names in the vicinity of Gladsmuir and it has been suggested above that it was a piece of moorland, on the watershed between the Tyne and Esk basins (p 19).

The fact that the later parish churches of Drem and Athelstaneford were chapels of Haddington, in the twelfth century (Cowan.1967.79), could provide further basis for the conjecture that the territory associated with Haddington extended as far as the Peffer and Pilmuir burns, as has been

proposed above (p 323). This inevitably presumes that the arrangements which came into being in Scoto-Norman times followed those of the Anglian period. The takeover of Aberlady and its related lands by the see of Dunkeld, has not been dated (Cowan.1967.3), though the landing-place there and the fine Anglian cross-shaft imply pre-Scottish importance (p 434). The multivallate defended settlement at Kilspindle Point (RCAHMS.EL/2806) (NT 449802) lies at the place where the Peffer Burn is most easily reached, avoiding the sands and estuarine mud. The fact that it survived as late as the mid-eighteenth century so as to be included on Adair's map of East Lothian of 1745, could imply that its use did not end in the Prehistoric period, though the site remains to be excavated. It could also have been a gathering-place for the natives from a wide vicinity and would also explain the siting of the Anglian cross there, rather than at Gullane (pp 443-4).

The land around the upper Tyne and its tributaries, roughly the parishes of Saltoun, Pencaitland, Ormiston and Peaston, which lies within the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" (Fig I.13) bounds, has attracted notice above, on the basis of the two coet-element place-names, Keith and Pencaitland (p 20) and the group of Viking Scandinavian place-names (pp 143-144). The territory was suggested as having been sparsely settled until later Medieval times and the parish-boundaries seemed to have been the results of later sub-division of a larger piece of territory (Fig I.13). Alexander I is recorded as having granted the lands

of Keth Hundeby to the abbey of Dunfermline before 1125 (Cowan.1967.92) and this land stretched as far as Saltoun (Ibid.179). It is interesting to note, however, the fact that this piece of territory, in spite of the lack of evidence for its original extent, had a large long-cist cemetery, at Windymains (NT 429641) (Fig I.13). This could be another example of this recurring pattern of one large long-cist cemetery to one pre-Anglian territorial unit. The fact that this same site lay on the parish-boundary between Humbie and Peaston, could indicate the persistence of the use of lesser land-boundaries of some antiquity, as is implied by the siting of the old burial-ground of Peaston on the parish-boundary between Peaston and Pencaitland (NT 427658) (Ordnance Survey Name Book.LII.1853.7). Though it could be claimed that this information fits the conject-ures which have been made, this is not definite and un-equivocal in its interpretations and lacks secure dating and study of the place-names.

Within the "from the Lammermuirs thence to Eskmouth" land-block, the evidence would appear to be for the Angles taking over the native British territorial arrangements yet co-existing with British nobles and lesser natives until the time of the Scottish takeover. The differences between the Anglian takeover of the lower Tweed basin and of the East Lothian have been touched on above (p 241). Another difference is in the number and sizes of the older parishes in this land-block, and ones which can be related to probable, or possible, important places of early Medieval date. As a result of MacInnes' study of the "from Lammer-

muir thence to Eskmouth" territory in the Late Prehistoric period (1983), it is possible to see the apparent traces of settlements in the time of the Anglian occupation against some sort of background. In spite of the "gap" from the second century until the seventh, the long-cist cemeteries provide a useful link with the pre-Anglian Britons as well as provide indications of territorial organisation. There is also the noticeable density of late Prehistoric settlement-remains in this part of the Tweed-Forth area and the site of the 16-hectare 'oppidum at Traprain Law. The implication is that the native British population distribution of this piece of the Tweed-Forth area might have been denser than in the other parts, so that Anglian settlement was less dense than in the lower Tweed basin and British linguistic culture survived, as is suggested by the place-names.

The evidence of the long-cist cemeteries was that the land around the Esk and its tributaries was probably where most of the pre-Anglian settlement lay (p 230). This is not to claim that the land between the Roman road and the Esk was not inhabited, though no dates can be claimed for the origins of the parish-centres of Soutra and Crichton. The former is a tref -element place-name and owes its importance to the establishment of a hospital there in the twelfth century (Cowan.1967.186) and being on the Roman road. Crichton is one of the "Anglo-British" place-names (p 126) and lies beside a concentration of settlements of Later Prehistoric type, along with a souterrain which incorporates

Roman-dressed stones (Fig I.13). Since Crichton was the residence of a later Medieval aristocrat, the "Turstan de Crectun" who appears on the witness-list of the Holyrood Charter of 1136 (p92), the possibility is that Crichton was the centre of one of the lesser territorial arrangements in or soon after the Anglian occupation.

The site of Inveresk is of special interest, because of the landing-place there and the important Roman fort and civil settlement (p 40). The place and its dependent lands were given to the abbey of Dunfermline by Malcolm III and the later confirmation charters of David I list these: Inveresk *major*, Inveresk *minor*, Smeaton, Carberry, Wymet, a mill (Lawrie.CCIX.1150) and Cousland (Dunfermline Cartulary.92.1126-9). The fact that this makes six settlements or 'vills' would seem to imply that Malcolm III gave Dunfermline a British land-unit of a type similar to those in early Medieval Wales (p 190). This pre-supposes that the six settlements were granted at once and not at various times, So the inference that the land in the parishes of Inveresk, Cousland and Newton and Wymet formed a distinct arrangement, rests on only one interpretation of the later Medieval evidence.

As the end of the Roman road from the Hadrianic frontier to the Forth and where the "from the Lammermuirs thence to Eskmouth" land-block also ended, the site of Inveresk would have been of economic and tribal importance in the time of the Anglian occupation. This is implied by the field-system south of the village of Inveresk and the Shire Mill which

lay nearby (NT 347707) (Fig 4.5) and is probably the site of the mill which is mentioned in the charter of 1150 above. The presence of possibly two large long-cist cemeteries in the lands, at Edgebucklin Braes and Cowpits (Fig 4.6) would seem to support this. This evidence is not conclusive and the possibility is that control by the abbey of Dunfermline gave a greater degree of unity to a loose arrangement of possibly related settlements. It is unfortunate that the excavations of 1984 did not examine the remains of the Shire Mill , since a mill which is recorded as having existed before 1150 might have pre-Norman origins and is deserving of investigation. These pieces of evidence and the field-system imply that there was a British lowland territorial arrangement of six or seven trefi possibly following on the Roman fort and civil settlement, which continued under Anglian and later Scottish overlordship to be given to the Abbey of Dunfermline.The evidence is not really conclusive and the fact that the grange of the abbey was at Sheriffhall near Dalkeith (NT 320679) underlines the fact that the centre of this possible territorial arrangement in pre-Reformation times is not precisely known.
It is not often that a centre of Roman origins with early and later Medieval importance can be suggested in Britain north of the Tyne-Solway frontier, though the probability is that it used already-existing native British arrangements (p 196). In spite of the damage which the remains in the vicinity of Inveresk have sustained, this is an area worthy of more thorough study.

The problem of later Medieval territorial and religious developments is especially pronounced in the rest of the Esk valley, due to the establishment of the Cistercian abbey at Newbattle in 1140 (Cowan and Easson.1976.77) and other recorded changes. The fact that Lasswade was made a mensal church of St Andrews along with its chapels at Glencorse, Pentland and Dalkeith (Cowan.1967.138, 156) and that the Templars were given their principal residence (with lands the record of which has not survived) in the Esk basin seems to show the desirability of the land in the later Medieval period. This sub-division extended to the churches associated with the later parishes of Carrington and Loquhariot or Borthwick being given to the abbey of Scone in the Scotto-Norman period, as well (Cowan.1967.29). There is no apparent association with long-cist cemeteries apart from the large ones at Newfarm and Park Burn being associated with the parishes of Dalkeith and Lasswade, respectively (p 224). The fact that the Park Burn marks the boundary between the parishes of Lasswade and Liberton and the Dalhousie Burn the boundary between the parishes of Lasswade and Carrington (Figs 6.4, I.12), could imply the survival of older land-divisions. That Carrington with its ingtun-element place-name (p 123), should be associated with Borthwick (pp 380-83) and the souterrain at Middleton House(Welfare 1984, 321), suggests that the former was sited in a pre-Anglian territorial arrangement. The siting of the abbey at Newbattle was due to the Cistercians' preference for a secluded site, so that it does not prove that it was an important Anglian

place like Eldbotle (p 322) or was a pre-Scottish manor or centre for the Esk valley, south of Inveresk. The Anglian cross at Lasswade and its later importance (p 436) could imply that this was such a centre , being related to Carrington and the Old English place-names in the vicinity. Evidence to support this is lacking so that the Esk basin might have consisted of a series of territorial arrangements, whose extents are implied in the parishes, which were associated and under general Anglian overlordship. The fact that the parish of Penicuik and Mount Lothian has the Cuiken Burn and the North Esk for its north-east and south-west parochial boundaries (Fig I.12) could imply the use of older, possibly pre-Anglian boundaries to a territorial arrangement. Penicuik, like West Linton on its south, was not given to any later Medieval see or abbey, so it is possible that they do maintain these older boundaries, though this presumes that the churches were of early origin. The distribution of long-cist cemeteries implies that the post-Roman population-density in the Esk basin was denser around Inveresk and Dalkeith and was sparser to the south (Fig 4.4). There is also the Roman road which crossed over the two branches of the Esk by Dalkeith (p 35) and its importance can be seen in the fact that the later Medieval centres of Dalkeith, Newbattle and Lasswade are all within 3 kilometres of the road.

Since Lasswade literally meant 'ford by the water-meadow' (p 123) the settlement there developed around the ford with possibly consequent economic and political

as well as religious importance (p 436). It might be rash to claim that the Brittonic term "lios , for a lord's residence (p 126) lies behind the first element of Lasswade or that Dunesk, which lies behind the old church (Fig 7.17) comes from the Gaelic dun for a fortification, as opposed to the Old English dun for a hill (p 100). Since Dalkeith lay closer to the Roman road (Fig I.12) and became the site of an important later Medieval burgh, it is a more likely possibility as the site of the local centre, partly because of the siting of Dalkeith Castle on a spur above the North Esk was a suitable siting for a fortification of Prehistoric or later Medieval date. This is only another list of possibilities since Inveresk or its predecessor could have been the centre and there is only this equivocal information. There is no evidence that Carrington was of any especial importance, before or during the later Medieval period So the inference that Anglian settlement led to a shift in the power-centres in the Esk valley, as in the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" power-block, is not supported by any evidence. In spite of Dixon's work on place-names, it is not possible to trace any expansion of Anglian settlement from the possible initial settlement at Carrington (p 123). What is interesting, however, is the group of later Old English place-names around Moorfoot and the source of the South Esk, especially in the vicinity of two Gaelic place-names, Rathquillane and Catcune the former implying fortification and the latter "common pasture" (Dixon.1947.116, 112) (Fig I.12).

Reference has been made to this group of place-names - Fullarton, Toxside, Yorkston, Outerston, Esperston, Halkerston and Muirthwaite - above (pp 20-43). Their proximity to the early Christian site at Loquhariot, Carrington and Temple (pp 379-82), along with Chester Hill (NT 341563), along with the strangely isolated chapel of Mount Lothian, seem to infer some kind of association. With the group of by-element place-names around the source of the Humbie Water, they imply late, pre-1200 origins (Dixon.1947.50-2). It is possible that these originated from an expansion of settlement, at a time subsequent to the Scottish takeover, as is implied by the Gaelic place-names, from the English part of the Esk basin, around Carrington, since the eleventh and twelfth centuries were a time of a "climatic optimum" (p 12) when expansion into the upland parts was possible. It is difficult to imagine the Templars being given territory for their principal house in Scotland in 1140 (Cowan and Easson. 1976.158), in an undesirable vicinity. The principal house of the Hospitallers was established in relation to apparent sites of local importance in the Bathgate Hills (p 340), so it is possible that the Templars' residence was similarly sited. This late expansion might explain the odd siting of the chapel and burial-ground at Mount Lothian (NT 275570 (Fig 7.9) near Fullarton. This might seem peripheral to the interests of this study, though the work by authorities such as Barrow, has shown the relationships between later Medieval landholdings or territorial arrangements and the apparent traces of the earlier Medieval ones. This particular discussion, on settlement in the Esk basin is mostly

dependent on Dixon's study of place-names. This lack of archaeological evidence means that any conclusions are tentative and not dated.

The land around Edinburgh was part of a shire by the mid-twelfth century and related to Edinburgh Castle and its associated settlements, according to the Holyrood Charter of before 1138 (pp 88-90). Edinburgh Castle probably was the site of the British overlord of Gododdin, before the Anglian period, though its position after the siege of 638 is not clear. It either survived as a place of importance or developed as one before the twelfth century. The Charter implies that the land of the initial shire was that of the later parishes of Corstorphine, St Cuthberts, Leith, Liberton and possibly Colinton or Hailes (Fig I.14). This does not include any of the parishes which are associated with either the Esk or Almond rivers, such as Cramond or Newton and Wymet. The implication is that these latter areas remained independent of Din Eidyn and Edinburgh, though possibly remaining tributary to the same centre. The fact that the Roman road was regarded as a boundary by the Northumbrian church (p 74), implies that all of what is now Midlothian, from the Roman road to the Almond, originated as the dependent lands of Edinburgh, at least in theory. The literal meaning of Liberton (p 129) is an outlying dependency of an estate, so that is probably how it originated. It is situated on the Roman road from Dalkeith (p 35) just as Corstorphine is probably sited on the Roman road to the Almond (Ibid), so that the related land can be seen in relation to the

roads (Fig I.14). The economic importance of Edinburgh is reflected in its related harbours, at Granton or Wardie and Inverleith (p 40) and having at least two mills in its lands by 1138, at Nether Liberton and Dean, according to the Holyrood Charter (p 91). The survival of two tref -element place-names at Niddry and at Treverlen, the latter being the former name of Duddingston (Nicolaisen.1976. 24), suggests that British natives of the land around Edinburgh maintained their cultural identity through the Anglian occupation. Settlement-remains around Edinburgh itself are sparse, only Saughton and Broughton are actually mentioned in the Holyrood Charter, so that Morton and Straiton lack any identifiable early record . The two afore-mentioned tref -element place-names lie in the fertile land east of the Arthur's Seat massif (Fig I.14), though the other two pre-1138 place-names can not be related to any kind of soils.

The intriguing group of "Grimston-hybrids" by the Waters of Leith, Ravelston, Colinton, Comiston, and Swanston (Dixon.1947.87) (Fig I.14), imply that there was still vacant or sparsely-populated land in the dependent territory of Edinburgh by later Medieval times. This is a fact which was apparent from the long-cist cemetery distribution (p 229) so it could be assumed that the basic patterns and distribution of settlement in the Edinburgh area did not change markedly between the fourth or eighth centuries and the eleventh. Like most of the conclusions which have been reached in the course of this chapter, these

ones do not rest on much evidence. What is definite is that Edinburgh was a major centre in pre and post-Anglian times and possibly during the Anglian occupation, and by the twelfth century was the centre of a shire , with an associated church of minster status at St Cuthberts (p 90). Craster has pointed out that the odd reference to "ad orientem partem Edwinesburch" in the list of the possessions of Lindisfarne, in the writings attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis , did not refer to some lost church or possession of the Northumbrian church, but to the position of Abercorn, or Eoricorn as it was mis-spelled, "to the west of Edinburgh" (Craster.1954.179). Apart from the far from definite references to "Edinburrough" or Eden , in connection with the Scotto-Wessex warfare in the mid-tenth century (p 266), evidence for importance in relation to Din Eidyn or Edinburgh, during the time of the Anglo-Saxon ccupation is lacking. Thus, there seems to be no reason to doubt the inference which was made above, that after the "obsessio Eten" of 638, Edinburgh became centre for the immediate vicinity, not for a large "kingdom", since the British chief resident at Din Eidyn became just another subregulus of the Northumbrian king (pp 250-1). The importance, which led to its becoming one of the principal castles and burghs of Scotland, would seem to have been a result of the later developments.

West of Edinburgh, Anglian settlement is not readily traceable and, apart from Bede's record of Penneltun at Kinneil (p 254), none of the possible place-names can be

dated to the time of the Anglian occupation. The fact that the parishes around the River Almond can be connected to the distribution of long-cist cemeteries (p 221), could be a further indication of the lack of change in that part between the pre-Anglian period and the time of the Scottish takeover. The site of Cramond is like that of Inveresk, on the site of a Roman fort and civil settlement, where a river joins the Firth of Forth, though there is no record of a possible related territorial arrangement, as at Inveresk. The caer -element place-name is indicative of importance, as has been discussed above (pp 103-4) and its position as a landing-place has also been discussed as contributing to the probable importance (p 40). The position as a trading-post could explain the discovery of a bronze ring with runes of late Anglo-Saxon type (Wilson. 1964.32) (Fig.II.4) and a millefiori and glass decorated disc-brooch (Proc.Soc.Antiq.Scot.1972.316) (Fig II.5) in the graveyard of the later church of St Columba at Cramond. There were also mills on the River Almond by 1124, when David I granted their "tiends" to the abbey of Scone (Barrow.1961.164-5).

The most important place on the Almond watercourse was at Kirkliston, where the Roman road probably crossed the river (p 35) (Figs I.16, 17) and where the see of St Andrews had its "seat of rural jurisdiction..over the estates on the southern side of the Forth, according to R Sibbald's History of the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow" (1710. 12). Since lios , which was the first element of the

name Liston, literally meant "a lord's residence" (p 126) the implication is that this place was important from pre-Anglian until later Medieval times. Though the economic importance of the place would have given it importance as has been proposed, the evidence is not definite, in view of the possibility of disruption due to the Anglian takeover and developing importance due to later developments, as seems to have been the case at Edinburgh. The site of Kirkliston, on raised ground over the fording-places, is a suitable site for a lordly residence, though no finds have been made of any pre-twelfth century structures or objects. G R J Jones has commented on the importance of other places in Britain which contain the element lios , such as Liss in Hampshire (Pers.Communication 1984) and it is possible that Kirkliston was one of these.

The site of Kinneil or Penneltun is on the land of the parish of Carriden, another caer -element place-name which is associated with a Roman fort and civil settlement, of the "vicani consistentes Veluniate"(Rivet and Smith.1979.490) (Fig I.8). The sites of both these settlements, Kinneil and Carriden are deserted and have not yielded any remains of early Medieval date, apart from the intriguing though unfinished "Rood" which was found in association with the church at Kinneil (pp 447-8).The fact that the two parishes formed a land-block delineated by the River Avon, the Bonside Burn, the Ettrick and Midhope Burns, according to the New Statistical Account (1845.II), which is approximately 13 kilometres by 4 is most interesting. The possible land-block

around Eldbotle or Karmurdac (p 328)(Fig I.11) is almost identical in its dimensions and it is tempting to see both as having similar origins, with the difference of Eldbotle superseding Karmurdac, while Penneltun failed to supersede Carriden, though the latter became centres of separate parishes by the twelfth century (Cowan.1967.28, 114). If this possible lesser land-block did have the original extent according to the New Statistical Account, it would have had Abercorn at its easternmost edge, which is interesting, in view of what has been said about the positions of possible important places in relation to parish-boundaries above (p 161).

A further coincidence in topography is the position of the later shire centre in relation to the possible lesser land-block, Carriden and Kinneil to Linlithgow as Eldbotle and North Berwick is to Haddington. Furthermore, Blackness was the landing-place associated with Linlithgow, as Aberlady was associated with Haddington (p 41) though there is no evidence that the monastery at Abercorn was associated with a major land-block in the same way as Tyninghame was to Dunbar. The siting of the Knights of the Order of St John at Torphichen, south-west of Linlithgow (Cowan and Easson.1976.161)(Fig I.17) as with the siting of the Templars at Ballentrodach on the upper South Esk (p 334)(Fig I.12) is most interesting. This only implies some kind of pre-twelfth century importance in the vicinity. However, the Prehistoric ritual centre of Cairnpapple, which Piggott suggested as the site of the Medionemetum of the Roman Ravenna Cosmography (1948, 118) and Rivet and Smith

did not accept (1979, 417), lies in the same parish as Torphichen. The large defended enclosure on Bowden Hill is similarly situated (p 160), so that continued importance of the vicinity is suggested as lasting from Prehistoric to Medieval times. As with East Lothian and Midlothian, the parishes in West Lothian are large and few, compared with those in the lower Tweed basin, though only a few can be readily associated with the distribution of long-cist cemeteries. There are no records known of the pre-Norman territorial arrangements west of the "from the Lammermuirs thence to Eskmouth" line, so much of this discussion of this part of the Tweed-Forth area has been supposition, inference and conjecture. The important later Medieval lordship of Callander lay possibly related to Eccles Breac or Falkirk, which had an extensive parish of the former chapels of Muiravonside, Polmont and Slamannan (Fig I.17) making all the land between the Avon and Carron rivers the possible original parochia of Falkirk (Cowan. 1967.64) and the dependent land of the lordship (Barrow.1973. 37-8). This is as it might have been in later Medieval times, since there is no record of the lordship of Callander before the later eleventh century (Ibid). The association of extensive former parochia with lordships which possibly existed in the time of the Anglian occupation is not definitely proven, since the association is dependent on the presumed association of lordships and Christian organisation with territorial arrangements. Davies' warnings about the fluidity of the latter (p 201) suggest that the parochial boundaries could reflect the latest developments of the lordship or the lands, which might have been of post-Anglian date. Similarly, if Stirling was the urbs Giudi of Bede, and

was indeed a centre of pre-Anglian date, the former parish of St Ninians, which included the later parishes of Dunipace, Larbert and Gargunnock, could indicate the original parochia of St Ninians and the dependent lands of Stirling. This would have meant all the land south of the River Forth as far west as the Gargunnock Burn, the source of which lies in the same valley as the Endrick Water, which is part of the parish boundary of Gargunnock,Significantly, this crosses the watershed to the River Carron, which is also the northern boundary of the putative original parochia of Falkirk (p 361) (Fig I.17).

That these inferences seem to fit the possible dependent lands of the possible pre-Scottish lordship-centres, is one thing to propose. It is quite another to trace them back to the Anglian period, in view of what has been said about Edinburgh and later developments. It would be proper to regard them as originating as British landholdings, Callander as a lesser one like Carriden or Inveresk (p 329) or Stirling as a major one, like Edinburgh or Dunbar (pp 335, 313). The example of Dunbar, like Edinburgh, is another good example of later developments which might bear no relationship to what existed before. Between the time of the sack of Dunbar, by the Scots in around 850, and the establishment of the Earldom of Dunbar and March in around 1072 (p 94) there were almost two centuries of time, during which much could have happened, such as Broxmouth becoming tributary to the Bishop of St Andrews as the dependent lands of Tyninghame becoming reduced to six vills (pp 81,318). Some

changes during the "gap" period between the ninth and twelfth centuries can be identified, such as the place-names of Gaelic or Scandinavian origin, which are recorded in documents of twelfth century or later date. There is, however, no way to show when Callander became a lordship-centre, whether it was subject to the predecessor of Stirling Castle. The landholdings which are recorded in the Historia de S. Cuthberto, like these recorded in the early Scoto-Norman charters (pp 79-94), seem to have been fairly flexible, as is implied by the two named settlements in the shires of Berwick and Coldingham lying in the general territory of the other (p 83). The question of when the boundaries of these landholdings became fixed is difficult to answer due to the lack of detail given in the relevant documents and the lack of study on the relationship between landholdings and later parish-boundaries.

Barrow's study of land-arrangements in pre-Feudal Scotland has focused on the relative wealth of evidence concerning developments by the twelfth century, by which time David I could refer to "all the faithful Thanes and Drengs of Lothian and Teviotdale" in 1117 (Lawrie. XXX). This also can be in the form of indicative place-names like Hermiston for 'Hired man's tun' or Bonnington or Bondington for 'Bond man's tun' (Nicolaisen.1976.114). Examples of the latter survive as, Bonnington in the parish of Ratho, Bonnytoun in the parish of Linlithgow, Bonnington near Inverleith in the parish of St Cuthberts, Bonnington in the parish of North Berwick, Bonnington south of Peebles

and the lost Bondington by Berwick-on-Tweed. Nicolaisen has pointed out that these could as easily derive from "settlement of Bondi" as of a bondsman (1976,114-5). However, they do all lie in close proximity to probable later Medieval lordship-centres or by known ones. Similarly, the two known examples of Hermiston, in the parish of Saltoun by the East Lothian Tyne and in the parish of Currie by the Waters of Leith, could be related to the lordships or territorial arrangements, which provided the bases for the parishes. The coincidence between recorded territorial arrangements and place-names distribution has been commented on above (p 145), so these possible indications of pre-feudal personages would be in relation to either lesser landholdings, as at Ratho, or larger ones, as at Peebles, Berwick-on-Tweed and Edinburgh. Oddly enough Stirling is the only major landholding where "hiredmen, bonders and gresmen" are actually referred to, in a charter of Alexander I of pre-1107, though it is after the establishment of the castle and "soke" of Stirling and might have been an innovation on Alexander's part (Barrow.1973. 38). David I referred to "drengos meos" in a charter to settle a dispute over the boundaries between his land around Horndean by the Tweed and that around Swinton, which was owned by the see of Durham in 1118 (Lawrie.XXXII). Thus there are references to such proto-feudal personages as thanes, drengs, hiredmen, bonders and gresmen, though at so late a date as to imply their possible origins as a result of southern English influence during the reigns of Edgar (1096-1107) and Alexander I (1107-1124).

There is a temptation to see the apparent hierarchy of landowners or personages named in these charters: vicecomes

or sheriffs, who are mentioned in the later charters in association with the larger Sheriffdoms like Berwick, Roxburgh and Lothian (Barrow.1961.45-6); thanes and drengs below them and then "hiredmen, bonders and gresmen" as being like the pre-Anglian hierarchy which appears to have been taken over and maintained by the Angles (p205). This hierarchy of over-chiefs or "monarchs", chiefs or praefecti and lesser chiefs or landowners, could be seen as underlying the later Medieval personages and their powers, the problem is in proving the connection. This would have been through the traditions of the lesser landholders and peasantry, who would have made the economic and tribal or political arrangements which would have led to the various landholdings coming into existence. This could be described as the foundation of these chiefs or nobles and their economic or military power. The passing of a particular aristocratic dynasty or cultural grouping would not have affected the economic or territorial arrangements of the majority of the local population. These people would have maintained the traditions of the groupings, such as those which are mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto", so that they came to provide the basis for the later parishes and counties.Davies has emphasised the survival of territorial arrangements, in early Medieval Wales (1982.63-4), though the similarities between there and post-Northumbrian South-east Scotland might be limited, due to the Anglian presence in the latter. The whole matter of the roles, duties and possible rights of the majority of the population is most difficult to discuss because recording these was not a principal concern of those who drew up the

documents of the Medieval period. Nevertheless, they can not be ignored in the study of the period, since their greater permanency compared to that of the rulers or landowners, would have contributed to the continuity of the importance of certain sites or landholdings. The difficulty of tracing their remains is emphasised by such excavations as that of the Dod, under I M Smith, where a settlement of Prehistoric origin seems to have been occupied until later Medieval times but the details of this occupation and its role within the Allen Water valley and the south of the Teviot land-block, discussed above (p 59), are most vague, due to the perennial problem of the lack of distinctive, diagnostic finds (1982.11).

The relationship between the recorded early settlements or places of importance and the sites of later castles and manors, such as at Edinburgh, Dunbar or Hawick in relation to the south of the Teviot land-block, is obvious, if difficult to trace definitely. The Historia de S. Cuthberto , the early Scoto-Norman charters and those parishes which can be related to early cemeteries or lordship-centres, provide basic models to use for any introduction to the matters of settlements and economy in the Tweed-Forth area in the time of the Anglian Northumbrian occupation. It would be expecting too much of what evidence has been identified and has been discussed in this chapter, that it should be able to answer all the questions and problems concerning early Medieval settlement and economy in the Tweed-Forth area.

The evidence can only imply details or information, since survival is often by chance or subject to alterations, and needs to have been well-studied or been subject to discussion by relevant authorities. The site of Bathgate Castle is represented on the first Ordnance Survey of 1846 and recent aerial photographs (RCAHMS.WL/2284 & 5) as having concentric banks, like a Prehistoric defended settlement. This does not prove that Bathgate Castle was continually inhabited from Prehistoric until later Medieval times nor was sited to take advantage of some territorial arrangement which might have been related to the predecessor. The possibilities exist and remain to be tested by excavation or documentary research, as with most of the conjectures and inferences which have been made above. It is difficult not to conclude that the various patterns and models which have been considered were probably generally applicable, even if local variations in population and development are taken into account.

CHRISTIANITY DURING THE ANGLIAN OCCUPATION

1) Continuity and the British Elements

"Wilfrid...read out...a list of lands which previous monarchs and now themselves (Ecgfrith and his court) had given him.... He went on to enumerate holy places in various parts of the country which the British clergy, fleeing from our own hostile hand, had deserted"(XVII)

This passage, from the description of the dedication of the church at Ripon in Yorkshire, in the 'Life of St Wilfrid' by Eddius Stephanus (p 66), refers to some territory, mostly lying west of the Pennines . What it does underline is the matter of the relationship between the Christianity of the Britons and that of the Angles. Thomas has pointed out that the names of the Anglian monasteries at Old Melrose and Abercorn had Brittonic names (1971.17) and Nicolaesen has suggested that 'Colodaesbyrig , the name of the monastery on St Abbs Head was a direct translation of a Brittonic name like Caer Colud or 'Din Colud' (1976.70). The name of Tyninghame is an obvious exception since it was not founded until after 756 (p 258), like Jedburgh or Gedwearde, with its completely Old English name and later foundation (p 75). These five sites will be considered in greater detail below, in the next section, since they are important enough to deserve special attention.

In the second part of the fourth chapter, it was

concluded that there was evidence for pre-Anglian Christianity in the Tweed-Forth area, though it was not proof of this being particularly thorough. The area might not have been truly "Christian", since there was no evidence for churches or chapels of pre-Anglian origin, only the possibility that there might have been some in association with or within chief's residences. The long-cist cemeteries were possibly the latest development on burial grounds which had been in use since the Bronze Age, though dating evidence to show the continuing use has yet to be identified. The eglwys -element place-names showed that there were some Christians, though their numbers or proportion of the native population are not clear. The place-names showed their meeting-places, which could have developed or originated at any time between the fifth and eighth Centuries. In spite of these problems in using fragmentary evidence for arrangements which developed over a long period of time and which were superseded in some parts of the Tweed-Forth area, there are some important details which are worthy of note. These include the apparent relationship between long-cist cemetery distribution and later parish-boundaries (p 221) and some of the other recorded land-blocks (p 227). The eglwys -element place-names could be related to other territorial arrangements, though some of these were only recorded in later Medieval documents. The fact that the only evidence for pre-Anglian British clerics comes from the inscribed stones from Peebles (p 220), which would have

lain away from much Anglian influence, suggesting that Christianity in the Tweed-Forth area was developing towards a "proto-diocesan" structure (Thomas.1971.15-18).

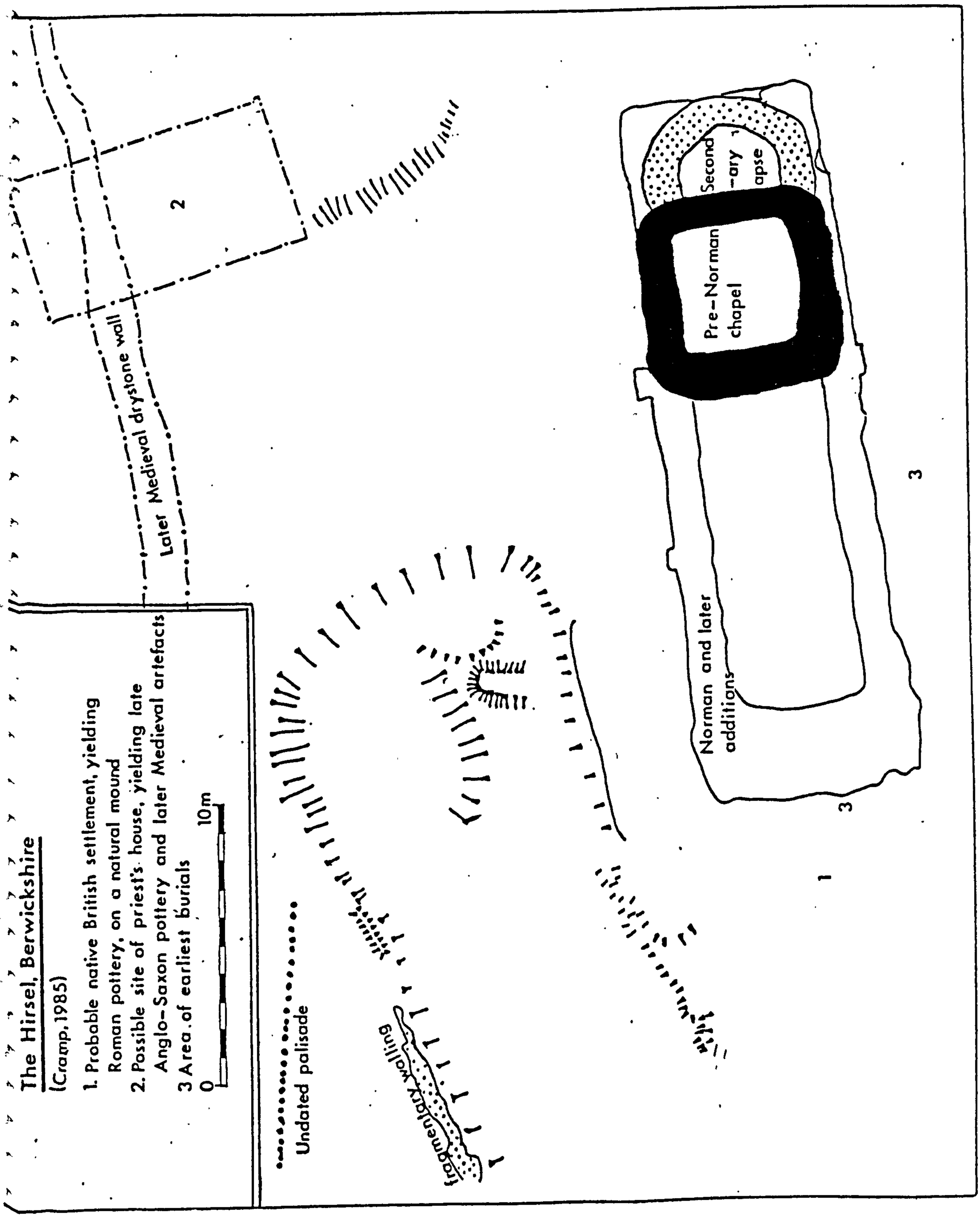
The dating of the stones from Peebles which refer to "bishops", to the Seventh or eighth centuries (p 221) would seem to support Thomas' suggestion that the structure existed prior to the Anglian takeover. What did exist, however, was the series of territorial arrangements, which developed into the later counties or shires and parishes, an aspect which was discussed in a certain amount of detail in the previous chapter. This was based on somewhat equivocal or late evidence and assumed that the recorded arrangements were typical rather than exceptional, in the Tweed-Forth area and could be compared with the possible examples and the later parishes. In spite of this, Henshall has remarked on the relationship between long-cist cemeteries and later parish churches, "seems to imply a break rather than a continuity of site from Celtic to Norman church" (1956.275). This break could be as a consequence of other factors, most obviously settlement-shift within the related land, inheritance or changes in lordship, and the activities of Anglian clerics like St Cuthbert. It is interesting to note that there is no mention in either of the Lives of St Cuthbert to chapels or buildings for religious purposes in any of the settlements where he went to preach or convert. With the possible exception of one of the settlements "in montanis" (p 61), the implication is that he preached or

carried out his religious activities in the open. This might have been at some place related to the residences of the Anglian nobles or at an established meeting-place for the people of certain localities, like "in Ahse" (p 63). This would seem to indicate a continuing of the apparent British practice of practising Christianity at a meeting-place. The literal meanings of the four probable and two possible examples of cirice -element place-names (p 136) and of Stow in Wedale, as gathering-places could further imply the survival of the practice until quite late. There is, however, no evidence to date the final use of these places or the construction of the first churches or chapels there. Artefactual or structural evidence for a meeting-place is lacking, as is any information concerning the relationship between these meeting-places and cemeteries.

The long-cist cemetery at Luggate, Whittinghame, in East Lothian has been discussed above, because of the possible association with an Anglian settlement and relationship with the possible block of dependent land around Dunbar (p 317). There was a church or chapel at Whittinghame by 1176, which was allegedly dedicated to St Oswald and sited in the long-cist cemetery (Chalmers. 1810.2.541). The place was also the site of the court of the Earldom of Dunbar and March, which could be taken as further evidence of an association between burial ground and meeting-place. However, the evidence is less definite, the court is not recorded until 1376 (Chalmers.

1810.2.538)and there was another church, recorded as lying to the south of the present parish church (Fig I.10) according to M B Lang (1924.43, 62). This lack of dating evidence is familiar and only implies the fluidity of the siting of such important places as burial-grounds or places for religious activity, though possibly within a land-block. The dedication to St Oswald is not definite and the recorded chapel might have been associated with Whitt-inghame rather than the long-cist cemetery. Thomas has interpreted the cemeteries as being the main focus of religious activity in the Tweed-Forth area, developing from "undeveloped cemeteries", which were simply burial-grounds which might have been marked or enclosed in some way, to "developed cemeteries" which had "oratories or chapels in association" (Thomas.1971.51). The evidence for the long-cist cemetery at Luggate and the chapel of St Oswald being an example of a "developed cemetery" is too tenuous. There are other possible examples of churches or chapels which could have originated from British "deve-loped cemeteries", the church of St Bees at Dunbar (p 453) the religious establishment at Jedburgh (p 420) and the possible chapel at Cowpits near Inveresk (p 426). With these there is the same lack of definite association with the long-cist cemeteries and the resulting implication of "a break rather than a continuity of site", as Henshall puts it (1956.275).

There is only one example of a pre-Norman church and burial-ground in the Tweed-Forth area which has been


The Hirsel, Berwickshire
(Cramp, 1985)
1. Probable native British settlement, yielding Roman pottery, on a natural mound
2. Possible site of priest's house, yielding late Anglo-Saxon pottery and later Medieval artefacts
3 Area of earliest burials
0
10m
Undated palisade
Later Medieval drystone wall
Fragmentary walling
Pre-Norman chapel
Secondary apse
Norman and later additions
1
2
3

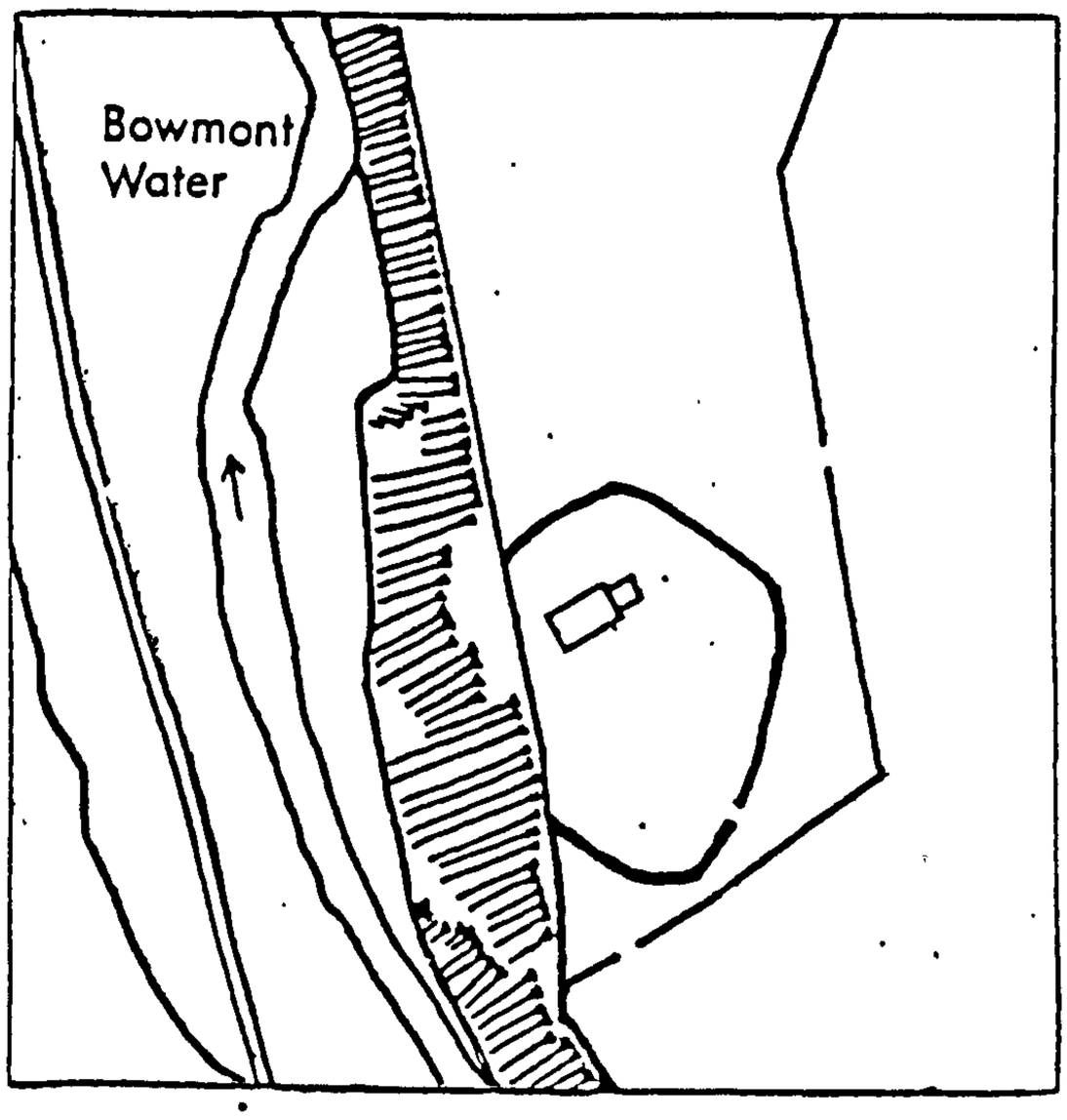
excavated, at the Hirsel in Berwickshire. Excavation under Cramp, to the south of the later mansion of the Hirsel, has revealed a burial-ground which was related to a church that was recorded by the twelfth century. The excavation showed that the earliest structure was a foundation of seven metres square with a later semicircular apse on the east side, which was associated with a cemetery the limits of which have not been located on the south side (Fig 7.1). Though excavation of the eastern side revealed the disturbed remains of a native settlement which yielded Roman pottery and a long-cist, there is no datable link between the chapel and the settlement. Cramp has proposed that the chapel was constructed in the ninth century after the collapse of the authority of Lindisfarne, which owned the land (p 74) after the Viking and Scottish raiding of the period (Cramp.1985). The discovery of a piece of stone which had a piece of rough interlace, of Anglian type (Fig III.2) in the foundations of the later church, could show use of the site in the eighth or ninth centuries, though the cross for which the stone was a "trial-piece" has not been discovered. As with the two grave-markers which were turned up by ploughing (p 223) these have not been related to any burials, So it is also possible that the cemetery is no earlier than the ninth century, as is the chapel.

It is interesting to note that the crop-mark of what could have been a chapel, at Cowpits, near Inveresk (Fig 4.5) is a square of around seven metres, which would thus

be almost identical to the example from the Hirsel (Fig 7.7), if it could be proven to have been a chapel of early Medieval date. The position beside the possible long-cist cemetery has been commented on above (p 226) and apparent parallels drawn with the churches at Dunbar and Coldingham. This possible chapel lies about two kilometres south of the site of the parish church of Inveresk so it is difficult to see any relationship between the two sites. The first mention of the parish church (Fig 7.3) is in a charter of David I, of 1128 (Lawrie.LXXIX) when he grants it to the abbey of Dunfermline "after the death of Nicholas the priest", which implies the existence of the church and a possible hereditary priest, before the abbey came to own the land around Inveresk. Cramp has drawn parallels between the Hirsel and Raunds in Nottinghamshire, where a church or chapel was established in association with a manor and probable dependant lands (Cramp.1985). The surviving charters from the twelfth century convent at Coldstream have allowed Cramp to relate the church to an "estate" of probably early Medieval origin (Cramp and Home.1978). The relationship between secular lordships and Christian religious establishments, which has been rather taken for granted in the previous chapter above, and occurs in both British and Anglo-Saxon contexts (Morris.1983.71-5). The problem is in proving this relationship in the Tweed-Forth area, where early Medieval lordship-centres have yet to be identified, at both Inveresk and the Hirsel.

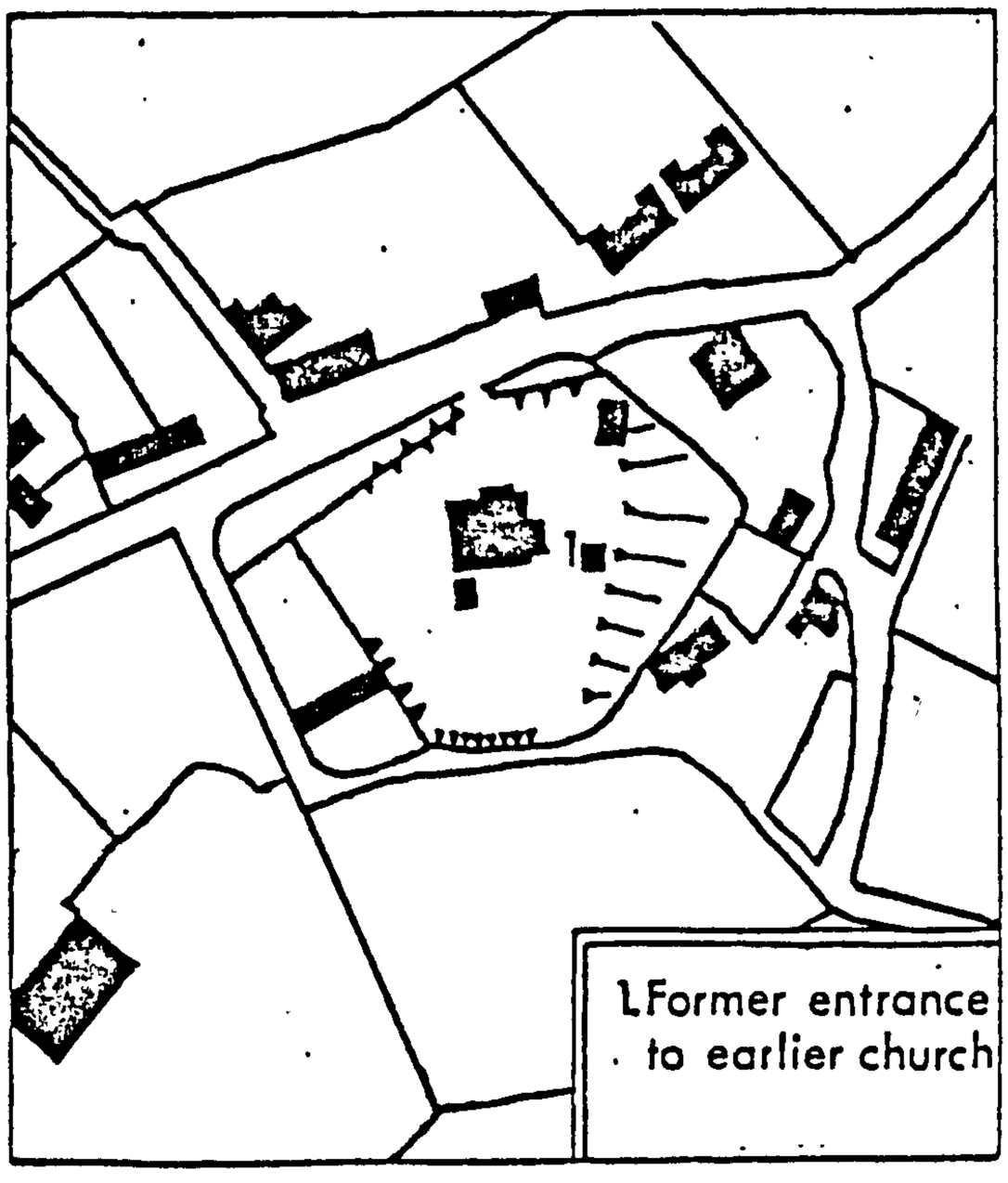
If a church or burial-ground was related to a secular lordship, it might be expected to have been sited near to or adjacent to the centre, as Morris has pointed out, in the case of the Anglian Eigenkirchen or estate churches (1983.75). The long-cist cemeteries, however, can not be definitely associated with lordship-centres, only with the possible dependent territory of an estate as possibly surviving in a parish. If it is assumed that a community or group of communities during the Anglian period consisted of "a lordship-centre, associated settlements and dependent lands and a burial-ground" as was suggested above (p 221) for the British period, the known later Medieval burial-grounds and parish churches could lie on the sites of the later burial-grounds and chapels, as at the Hirsel. The granting of the church at Tranent to Holyrood Abbey in 1150, by "Thor son of Swein" (Lawrie. CCIV) shows that proprietorial churches did exist in the Lothians by the twelfth century.

Cowan and Easson have drawn attention to two particular church sites, at Mow on the Bowmont valley and Old Roxburgh by the confluence of the Tweed and the Teviot (1976.53). The former is another possible example of a proprietorial church, by 1152, when "Uctred son of Liulf" granted it to Kelso Abbey "with (its) chapels and parochis"" (Lawrie.CXVXI, CXVCII). The latter was granted to the see of Glasgow by David I, a gift which was confirmed by Malcolm IV in 1156 (Barrow.1961.114), though all the churches within the burgh of Roxburgh were given to

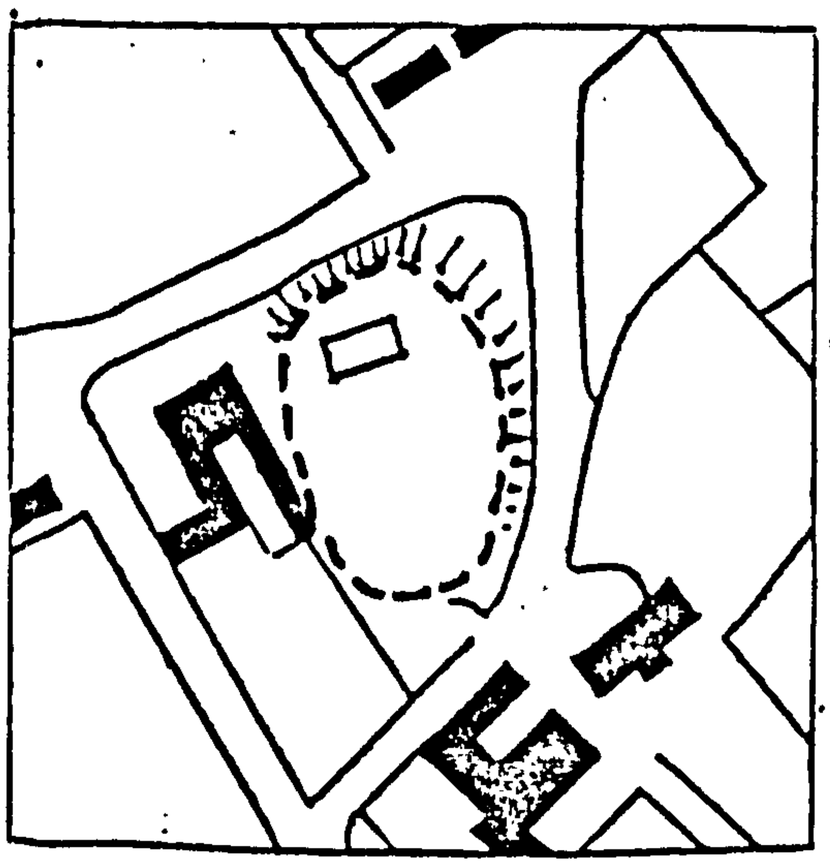


0 100 m

Mow, Roxburghshire
(Ordnance Survey 1860)



Old Roxburgh, Roxburghshire
(Ordnance Survey 1860)

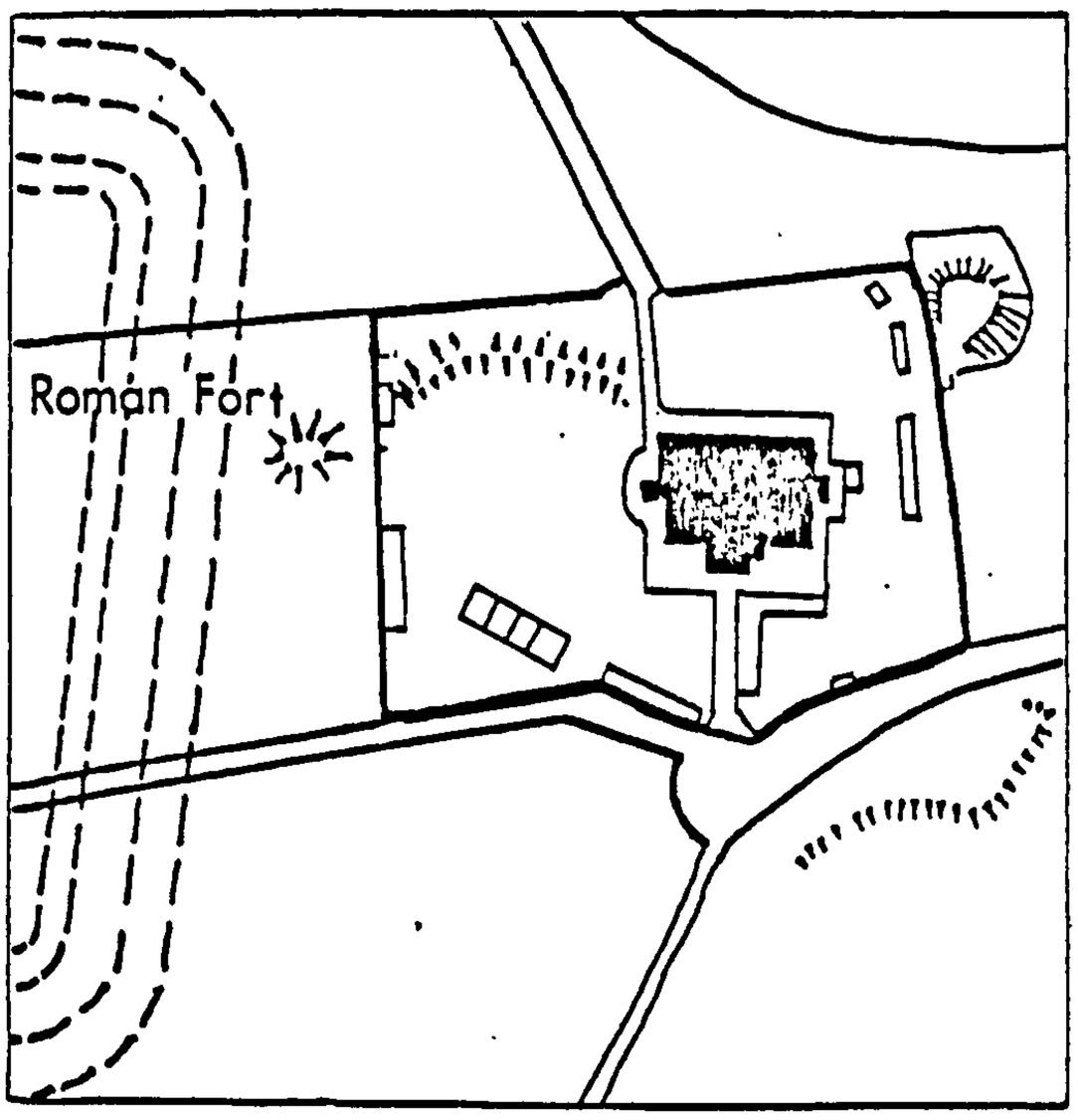


Nisbet, Roxburghshire
(Ordnance Survey 1860)

the abbey of Kelso (Cowan.1967.175). Both sites are thus of interest and appear to consist of a church within a sub-oval burial-ground, that of Mow being 75 by 50 metres and that of Old Roxburgh being 75 by 65 metres (Fig 7.2). This sub-oval shape is most intriguing since it compares with the examples of "developed cemeteries" which Thomas has identified in western North Britain, such as those at Ardwall Island and Old Kirkmaiden in Galloway (1971.83-4). The similarity in size and shape is not supported by any other evidence, in the form of stray finds or carved stones, only by this recorded importance, which is rather late. The apse of the church at Mow is 7 metres wide by 6 long, which is almost identical to the chapel at the Hirsel, which became the apse of the later church, so the apse at Mow might have originated as a similar chapel (Fig 7.7). Nothing is known of the later Medieval church at Old Roxburgh and the sub-oval shape of the graveyard is not definite. There is the fact that, with Mow, this possible "developed cemetery" can be related to the settlements which proliferate in the Bowmont valley, the twelve-vill estate which was mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 73) and the parish and possible lordship of Mow. Similarly, the site at Old Roxburgh can be related to the defensible site at Roxburgh Castle which was possibly a British lordship-centre with dependent land, the extent of which is not clear since no other pre-Norman settlements have been identified in the area of the parish (Fig I.4).

Not far from Roxburgh, almost 9 kilometres to the south-west lies the former parish of Nisbet, which had the "Dark Age type" settlement of Peniel Heugh within it (p 150)(Fig I.4) along with the sub-oval burial-ground at Nisbet (Fig 7.2). Though smaller than the examples At Mow and Old Roxburgh, it has yielded two "hogback" grave-markers, one of early twelfth century type and another which is of uncertain date (Lang.1974.230). These possibly imply that the burial-ground was in use at a date prior to the early twelfth century, possibly in the Anglian period and related to the land which was dependent on the Peniel Heugh fortification and became the parish of Nisbet. The dating evidence to support this series of conjectures might be lacking, though the pattern of the occurrence of a major fortification in proximity with the possible burial-ground of early Medieval date can be seen at all three of these examples. The fact that Nisbet is recorded as a chapel, not a church, when it was granted to Jedburgh Abbey in 1150 (Cowan.1967.156), could reflect its size and lack of importance, rather than imply that it was subject to another church.

St Ninians and Falkirk have been discussed above (p 211) because of their original place-names of Eccles Ninian and Egglesbreac and their apparent relationship to the possible predecessors of the lordships at Stirling and Callander, respectively. The burial-grounds at both these churches would seem to have been of sub-oval shape (Fig 7.3) and of sizes comparable with the examples at Mow and Old



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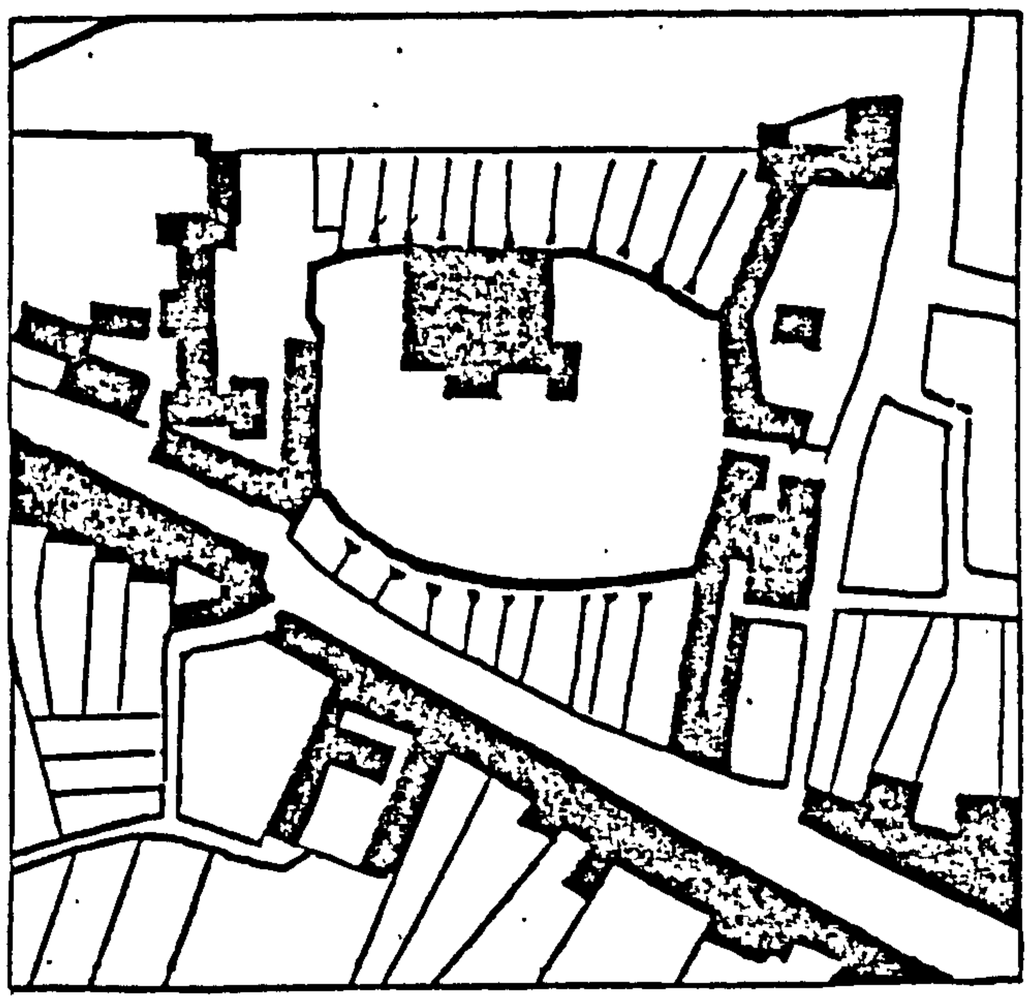
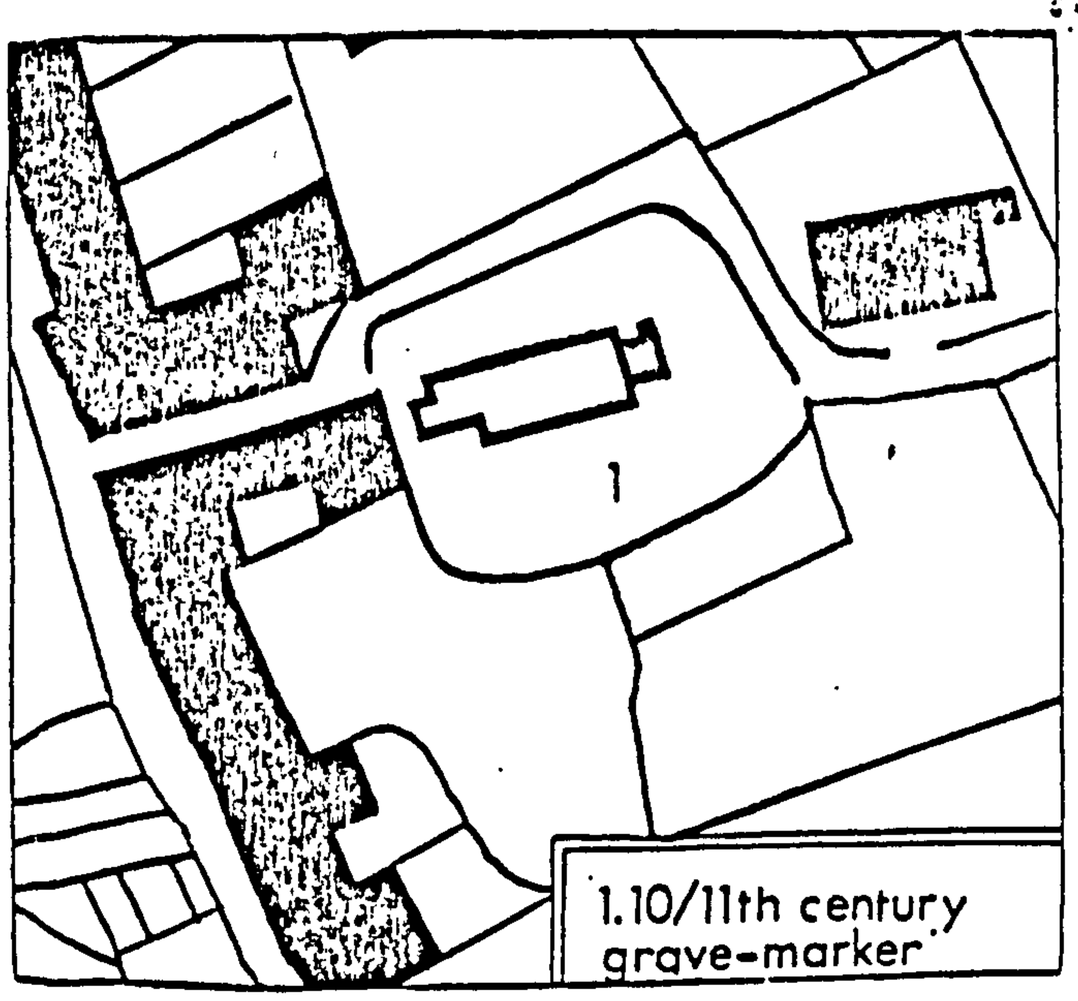
Inveresk, Midlothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)



Falkirk, Stirlingshire
(Ordnance Survey 1863)



St Ninians, Stirlingshire
(Ordnance Survey 1863)

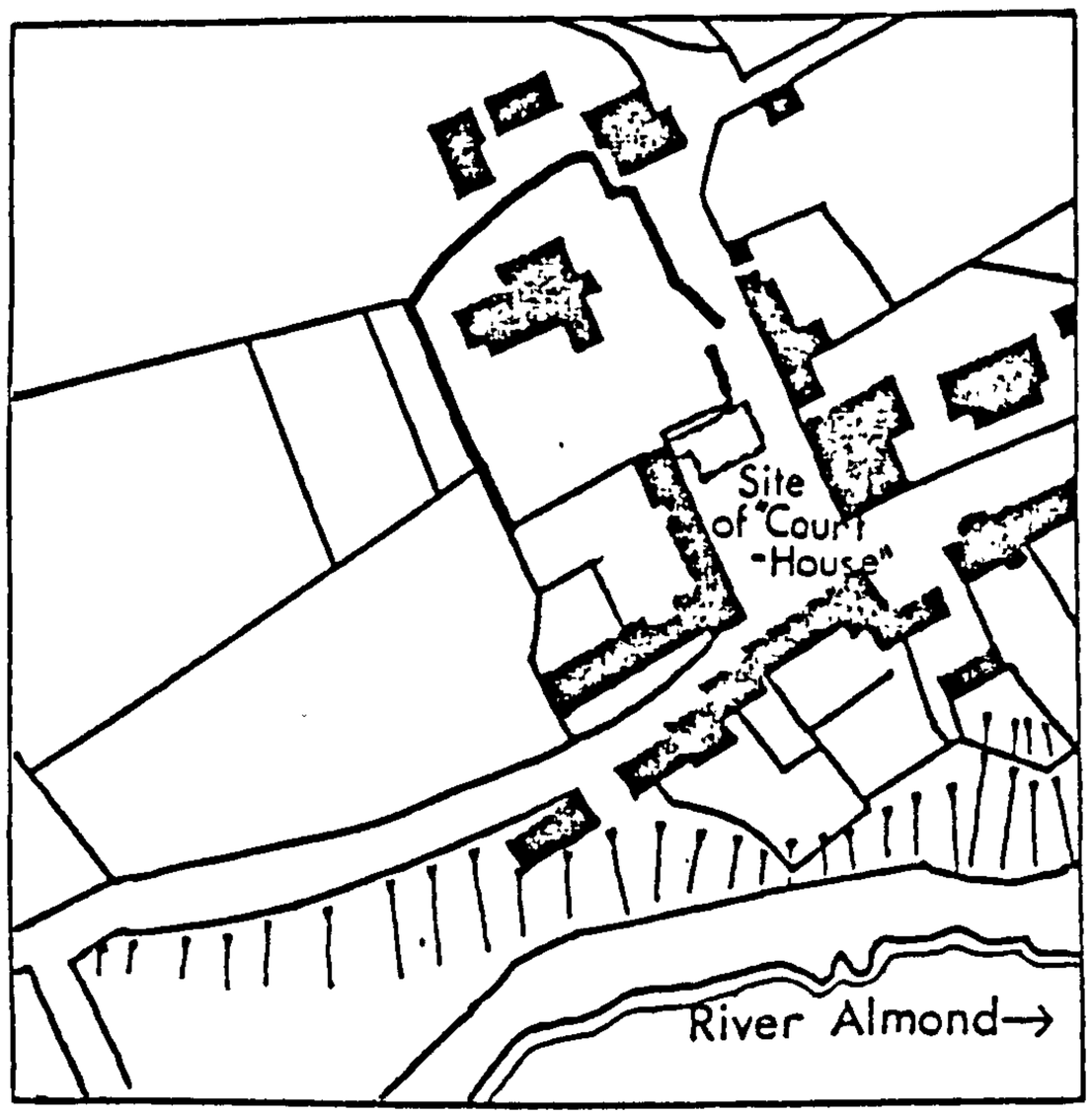
Roxburgh. It was concluded, above (p 210), that these sites originated as meeting-places for religious activities though only St Ninians and Falkirk developed into burial-grounds and mother churches which were related to a secular lordship and an estate . The fact that Falkirk was granted to Holyrood Abbey in 1166 "with (its) chapels and lands", which are listed at a later date as Polmont, Muiravonside and Slamannan (Cowan.1967.64), shows how it had developed by the mid-twelfth century. This matter of later development is important in the case of Falkirk, where an abbacy is recorded as existing by 1257 (Cowan and Easson.1976.52) though there is no information as to when or how this title came into existence. No traces have been identified of remains of churches of twelfth century or earlier date at either of these sites, though there is a late, carved grave-marker in the burial-ground at St Ninian's. This artefact has been dated to the tenth or eleventh century (RCAHMS.1963.141) (Fig III.3), so it could possibly imply that burials had taken place in the burial-ground of St Ninians before the tenth or eleventh centuries.

The Anglian occupation of the Tweed-Forth area would have brought with it the influence of the organised Christianity of the Northumbrian church, in the seventh and eighth centuries. It has been cited above (p 225) and in this section as the probable cause of the "break" between the long-cist cemeteries and the twelfth century churches. The implication is that these "developed cemeteries" owed

their origins to Anglian influence on the British natives, a possibility which is apparently supported by the distribution of these cemeteries. At only a few places to the west of Edinburgh or in the upper Tweed basin is there evidence that there was a "developed cemetery" on the site of a later parish church, before the twelfth century. This would seem to be the case with Yarrow, the Teviot above Hawick and the Tweed above Peebles, as well as the upper Almond and Avon basins in West Lothian. This lack of an apparent link with the burial-customs and cemeteries or places of worship of pre-Scottish date is partly due to the lack of excavated or studied evidence and the possible sparse population of these latter parts of the Forth-Tweed area. The battered but possibly originally carved cross-base from Kirkton of Manor, though later moved to the site of St Gorgian's chapel which lay further up the Manor valley (RCAHMS.1967.178) (Fig III.4), could indicate a pre-Scottish "developed cemetery" nearby. As with the very odd, though apparently pre-Norman, cross-shaft from Innerleithen, east of Peebles (RCAHMS.1967.177) (Fig III.5) the question is, which came first, the cross or the burial ground? A carved cross or the base which supported it did not have to be associated with a cemetery, it could have marked a meeting-place, a venue for preaching or religious activities (p 432) or even a boundary. It is possible that these two examples originated as markers of meeting-places and only later became burial-grounds with chapels, the cross at Innerleithen lying where the route

from Heriot and along the Leithen Water (p 32) met that going along the upper Tweed.

The proximities of the possible "developed cemeteries" to the long-cist cemeteries has been commented on (p 225) and seems to show some kind of continuity of site, while breaking with the older pre-Christian traditions. The fact that none of these possible examples of "developed cemeteries" can be dated to the eighth or even seventh centuries is inevitable, due to the lack of work on the subject of early Medieval cemeteries. This also means that some of the burial-grounds which possibly became the sites of the later parish churches had different origins. The parish church at Kirkliston might have been the chapel of a British chief and its proximity to the site of the court of the Bishop of St Andrews (Fig 7.4) on the top of a hill, shows that it would have stood within the possible lios of the chief or landowner. The church of St Michael's at Linlithgow, which was granted "with (its) chapels and lands" to the see of St Andrews, in 1138 (Cowan.1967.133), also lies within the probable area of a defended enclosure, the "Peel of Linlithgow", so it could have originated as the chapel of a lord's residence. The church at Cramond, at the mouth of the Almond, is of special interest because of its position within the Roman fort, on the site of the principia or headquarters building. The problem is that there is no evidence for a church on the site before it came into the possession of the see of Dunkeld in the early twelfth century (Cowan.



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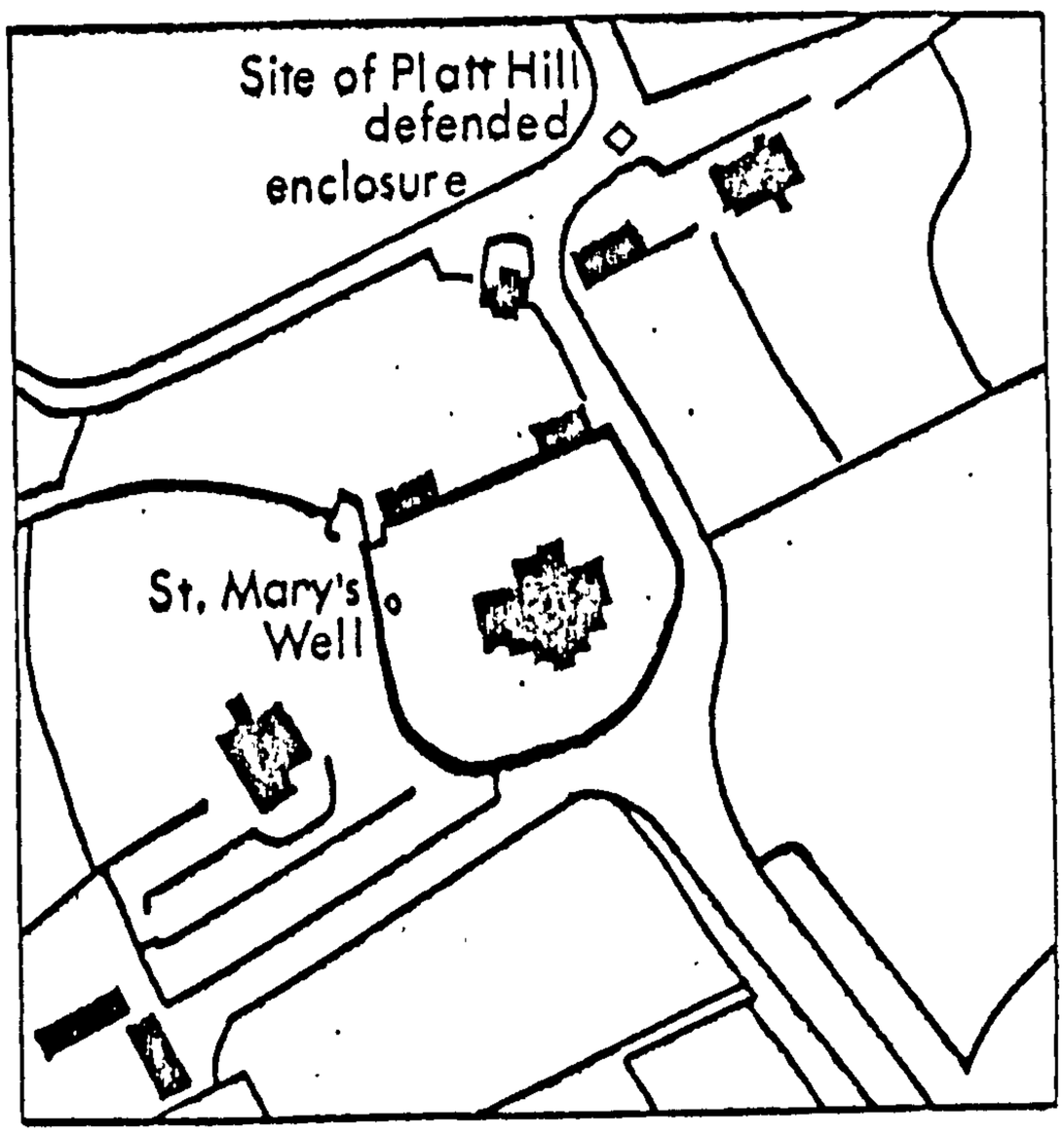
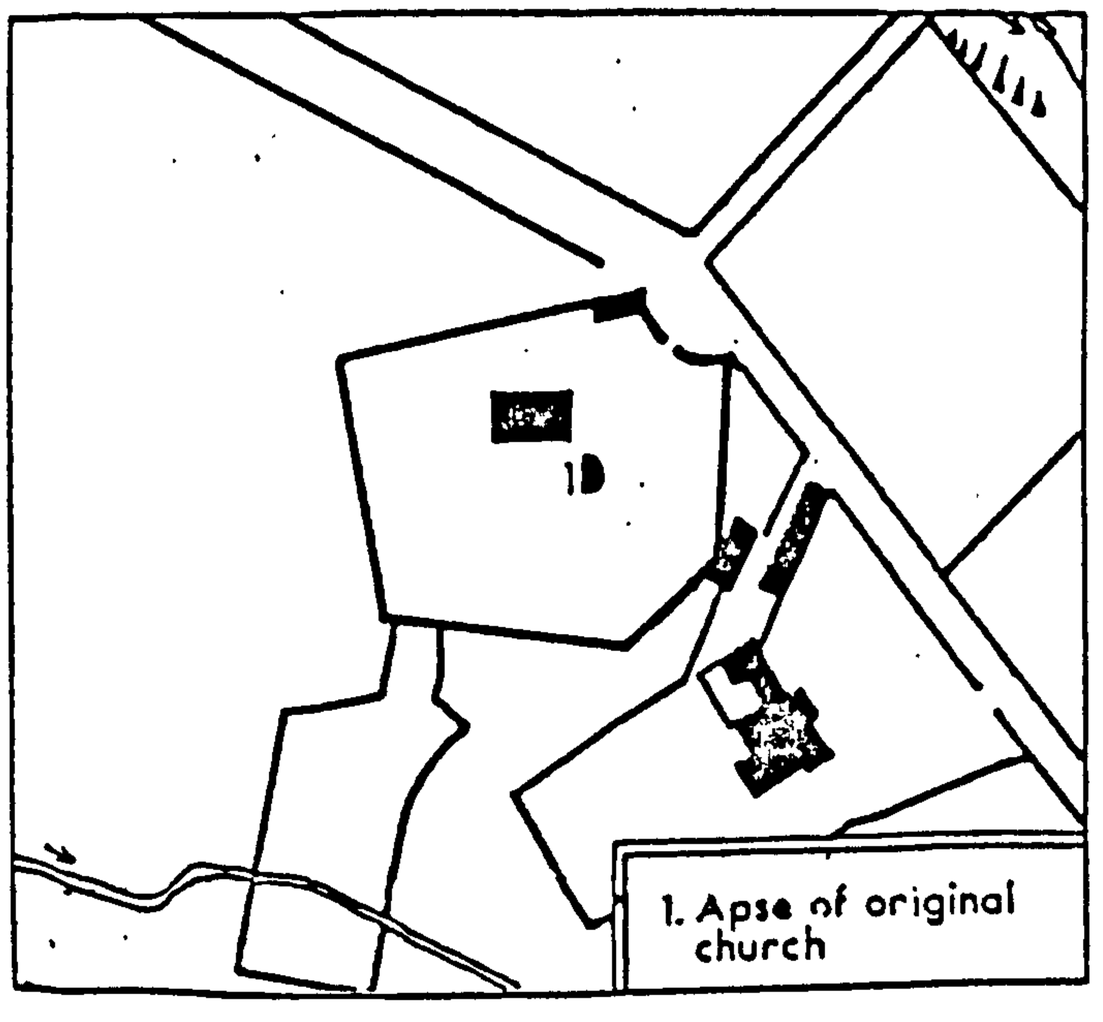
Kirkliston, West Lothian
(Ordnance Survey 1856)



Ratho, Midlothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)



Bunkle, Berwickshire
(Ordnance Survey 1857)

1967.37), so the origins as the chapel of some local British aristocrat are not definite. The sites of the parish churches by the other Roman forts at Inveresk and Carriden have not been related to the defended enclosure nor to any Roman buildings at these places. Only at Inveresk is there any indication of a pre-twelfth century origin (p 226) (Fig 7.3).

This dating problem is emphasised by the burial-ground and church at Ratho, which is the centre of a parish which contains a noticeable number of Gaelic place-names, which could be related to the "nucleated fort" at Dalmahoy (p 150). Thus, the church could be related to settlement by Scots or other Gaelic-speakers, in the Almond basin, at some time in the ninth century or later. The burial-ground is very similar to the others which have been discussed in this section above, being of sub-oval shape (Fig 7.4) and apparently associated with a defended settlement, on South Platt Hill. The New Statistical Account for Edinburghshire noted that it was about an acre in area with enclosures to the east and west and had been used for burials (NSA.1845.90). The Gaelic settlers could have taken over an already established British community and "developed cemetery", though it is possible that they settled in sparsely-populated land.

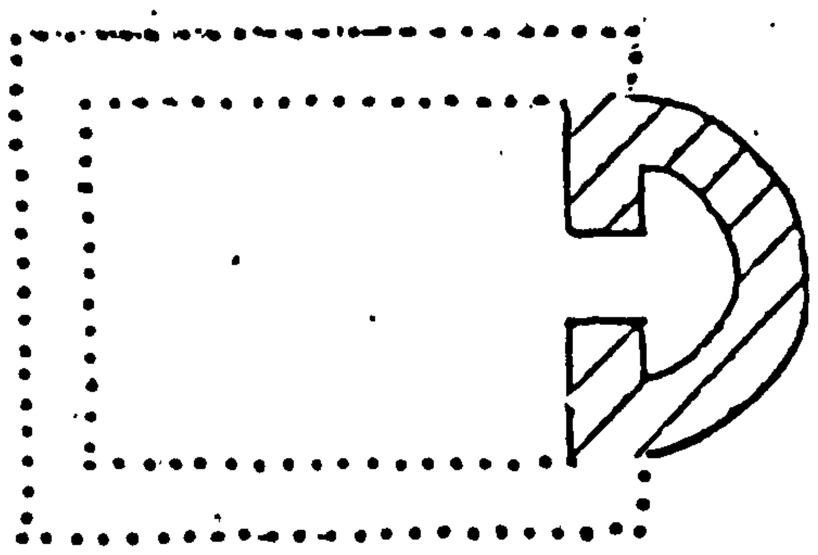
Thus, this "developed cemetery" and the settlements to which it was related could have originated at any time before the twelfth century, even the inclusion in the parish of the 2.4-hectare defended settlement with an overlying non-defen-

sive stone-walled settlement at Kaimes Hill (p 160), might only be coincidental.

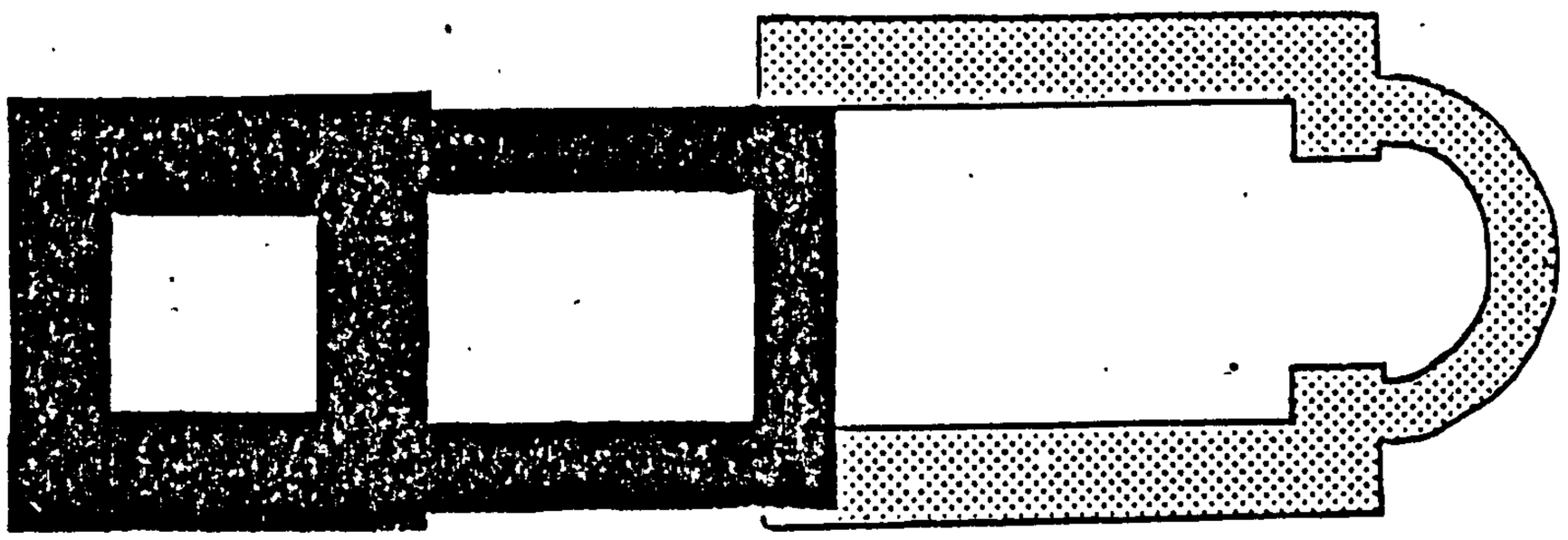
The site of the church and burial-ground at Hume in Berwickshire is interesting since it lies in the vicinity of a concentration of settlement-remains (p 275) (Fig I.3). Though the surviving shape of the burial-ground is not sub-oval, it was where an iron bell, of Scottish Celtic type was found and later lost, according to one authority (Smith J A 1881). It allegedly was given to the Kelso museum, where another iron hand-bell, which was found at Ednam, by the Tweed (RCAHMS.1956.36) (Fig II.6) was also kept and was later given to the National Museum of Scotland, where it now resides. This presents a problem since the earliest recorded church at Ednam was built by Thor Longuss before 1105 (Lawrie.XXIV; Cowan.1967.59), the implication being that there was no earlier one there. In a subsequent revision of a paper on the bell from Ednam and the lost one from Hume, J A Smith suggested that the Ednam bell and the one from Hume were the same object, which came from Hume and was erroneously claimed to have been found at or near Ednam (Smith J A 1881.191). This is possible since no other traces, either artefactual or structural have been found at Ednam to show pre-Scottish religious activity. "A small, round-headed cross.... 2½ feet high (0.725 metres), with a head 1 foot (0.3 metres) in diameter, consisting of a thick, low-relief, equal-armed cross with the arms expanded at the extents" (RCAHMS.1915. 97), used to stand in the burial-ground at Hume. Though

this cross has been lost, the description is identical to one which was found at the Hirsel, along with the carved stones, in 1977. This was 0.38 metres in diameter, equal-armed and "with the arms expanded at the extents" as well. Cramp and Home have dated this latter example to the eleventh century (1978.228, 229-30), so the lost example from Hume could be of similar date, pre-Norman but possibly post-Anglian. The first record of this church is in 1127, when it was granted to Kelso Abbey by the Earl of Dunbar and March (Cowan.1967.83), when there is also a reference to a priest. The impression given by this information is of an estate-related church, like at the Hirsel. The Celtic hand-bell has been related to the activities of the clerics at Lindisfarne or Old Melrose, where there were monks of originally Gaelic-Scottish origin. Significantly, Hume lies within the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block, which was recorded as belonging to the Northumbrian church, possibly Old Melrose (p 288). This bell could imply that there was an early church or chapel there, though the find-spot of this object and the circumstances by which it came to be deposited there, are not known. The dimensions recorded for the now-demolished church and the apparent shape of the burial-ground, do not imply origins as a "developed cemetery" such as those which have been considered above. The lost cross or grave-marker implies that the burial-ground and possible early church came into existence in the later part of the early Medieval period, after the collapse of the authority of Lindisfarne.

Figure 7.5

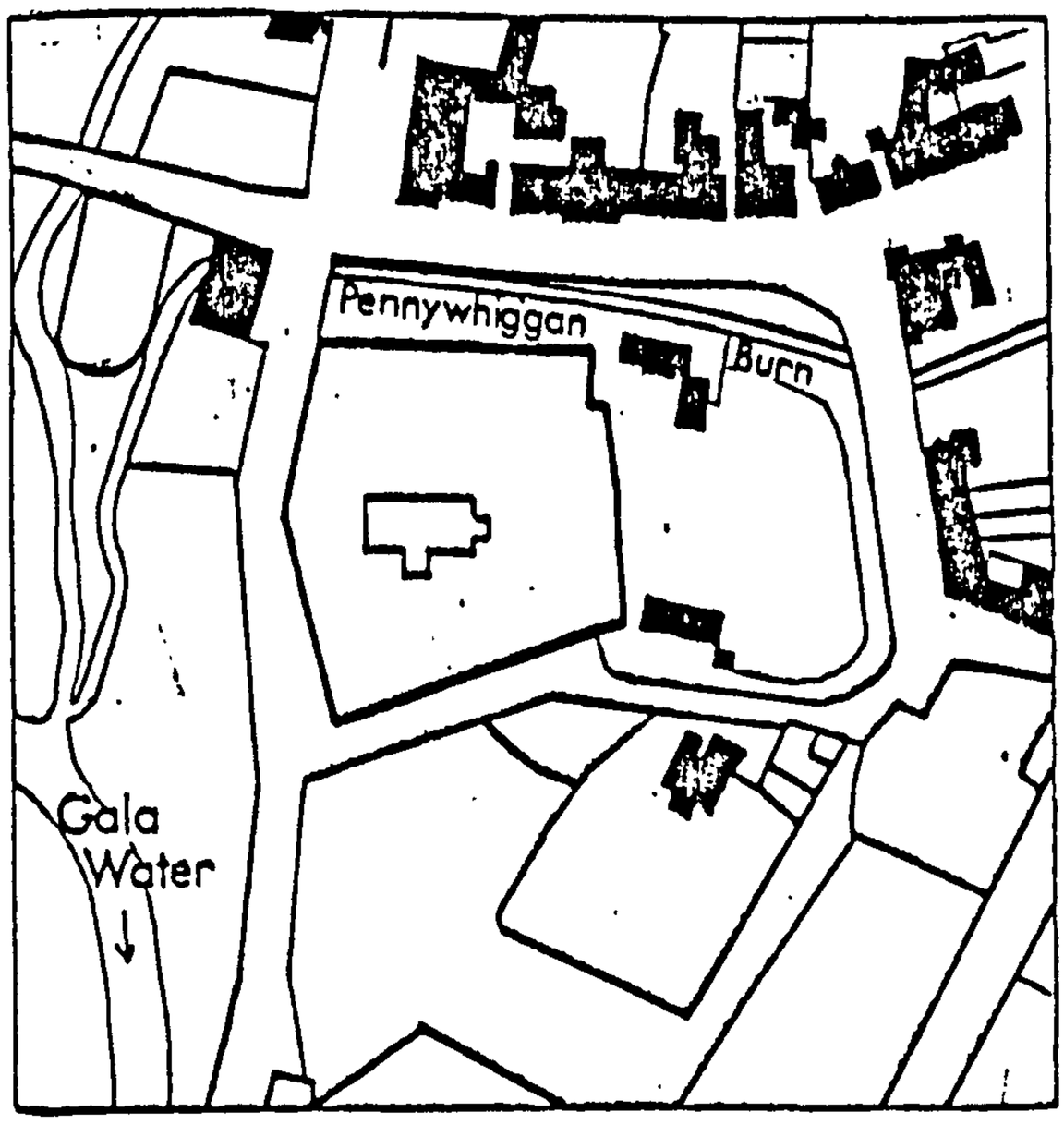


Bunkle, Berwickshire, with possible nave



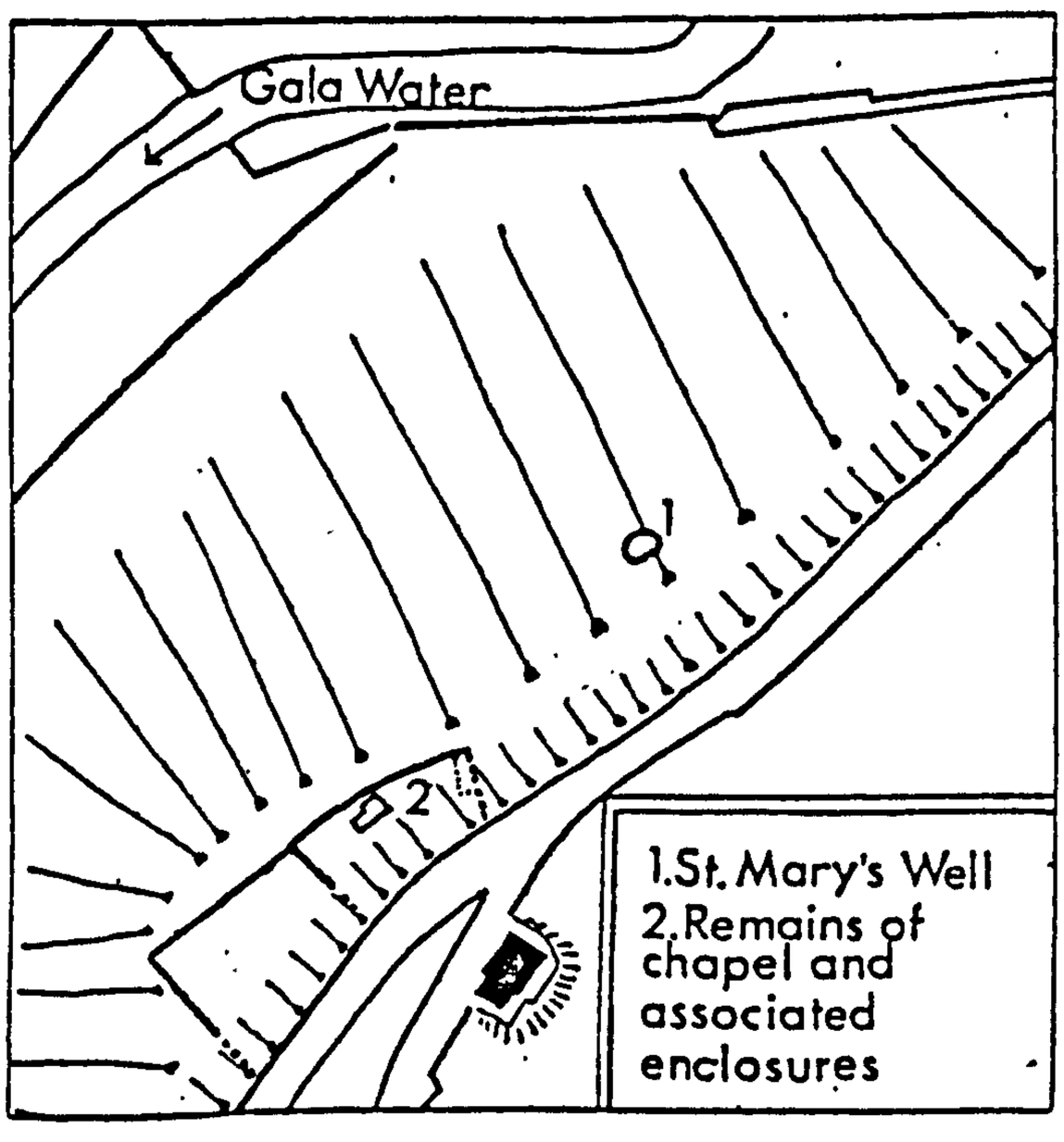
Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, Fife RCAHMS. 1933, Fig. 228

Figure 7.6



St Mary's Chapel, Stow, Midlothian
(Ordnance Survey 1860)

Parish Church, Stow, Midlothian
(Ordnance Survey 1860)



The intriguing site of Bunkle lies between the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block and the land which was probably dependent on Coldingham (Fig I.8). This odd parish of Bunkle and Preston which lies between the old road over Bunkle Edge and a bend in the White Adder, could be related to the group of settlement-remains which survive on Bunkle Edge itself (p 210). The burial-ground would seem to be of sub-oval shape and similar in size to the other possible examples of "developed cemeteries" (Fig 7.4). There is no record of when the land came into the possession of the Bishop of Dunkeld (Cowan.1967.22.133), though it would seem to have been pre-Norman. The surviving apse of the original church of Bunkle is particularly interesting because of its lack of Norman Romanesque details, which would seem to make it early (MacGibbon and Ross.1896.I.314-6). The plan has similarities, in shape and size, to the apse of the demolished church of the Holy Trinity in Dunfermline (Fig 7.5). However, neither the date of the construction of the church at Bunkle nor the identity of who had it built is known. The abbey and later see of Dunkeld owned the site and lands and the abbot from 1095 until 1107 was Aethelred, a son of Malcolm III and Margaret of Hungary. The conclusion that the church at Bunkle was built under the influence of the Dunfermline example or by the same personnel who built the latter, is not supported by any actual evidence. The inference that the son of the people who had the church at Dunfermline built let that fact influence the choice of church design on Bunkle is just an inference. The church might have been constructed in the twelfth century by persons influenced by pre-Norman

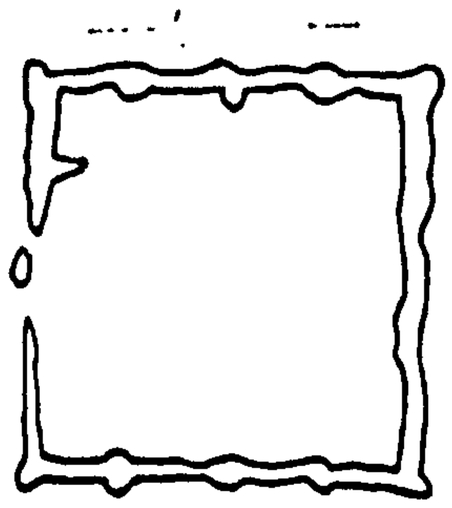
Romanesque. Bunkle church, like its parish, has been rather neglected by historian and archaeologist. The relationship between the church and burial-ground and the settlements on Bunkle Edge (Fig I.1) is not clear, though it is tempting to see the burial-ground as a "developed cemetery" directly associated with the settlements. The position of Bunkle and Preston, between the two recorded land-blocks, might have been the reason for its being taken over by the see of Dunkeld, since it was probably not owned by either Coldingham or Melrose. This structure needs to be considered in studies of pre-Norman Romanesque traditions surviving in medieval Scottish church architecture. Until then its period of construction and influences remain unclear. It is particularly unfortunate that nothing is known of the shape or plan of the church, prior to the demolition which left only the apse surviving.

This question of special ownership of a church by a northern Scottish see, from before the twelfth century, can be seen again in the case of Stow in Wedale, in the Gala valley. This is a very interesting piece of land, as has been discussed above (p 307), apparently British until some time in the later part of the Anglian occupation or soon after, when a series of Anglo-British place-names developed (pp 126-7). The present site of the parish church of Stow lies just over a kilometre north of the site of St Mary's chapel and St Mary's Well, though at a site which is better situated for access to the east, over the Gala-Leader watershed (Fig I.7). The former site appears to have been the original, earlier position of the <u>stow</u> or holy place, which allegedly had fragments

of an image of the Virgin Mary, "borne there from Jerusalem by King Arthur", as Barrow has noted (1973.154). The priest of Wedale was a very important person who, according to the Laws of the Marches of 1249, "was the proper person to make an oath for the Bishop of St Andrews" in legal cases (Barrow.1973.158, 160). It also possessed the right of Sanctuary, before 1165, a right which was only held by Tyninghame and Innerleithen, in all of the Tweed-Forth area (Barrow.1961, 246 no.219). The implication is that the place was very important before the see of St Andrews took it over. The much-damaged remains of St Mary's chapel lies within a banked enclosure beside the present A7 road, the bank of which overlies it and obscures the details. This could be the first "developed cemetery" incorporated in later field-walls, though its possible dimensions of 50 by 20 metres and sub-rectangular shape are not really comparable with the other possible examples (Fig 7.6). Examination of the site by the author has failed to identify any structural or artefactual information which might reveal the original date and purpose of this enclosure and if it was connected with the chapel of St Mary, the remains of which are obscured by modern debris. There is the other possibility that the present site of the later Medieval parish church at Stow was also the site of the pre-Scottish stow , though there is no artefactual or structural evidence for this burial-ground and church existing before the thirteenth century. It is also interesting to note that the manor of the Bishop of St Andrews was not originally situated beside the church but

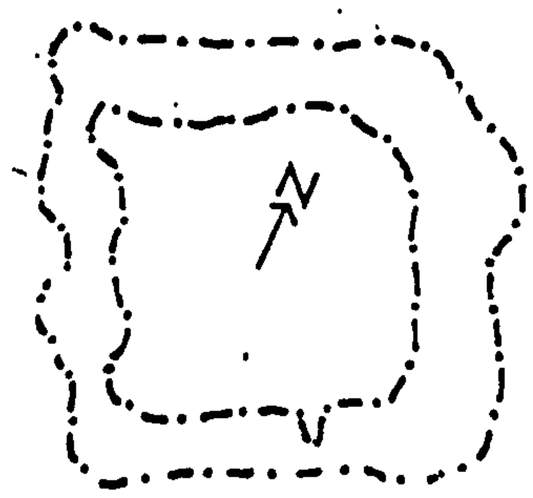
apparently at Bowland, which lies at the southern extremity of the parish (RCAHMS.1929.176) (Fig I.7). This resembles the manor of Dunfermline Abbey being possibly situated at Sheriffhall, on the southern extremity of the parish of Inveresk (p 330) (Fig I.12). All this evidence points to Stow in Wedale being of considerable religious importance in post-Anglian times. This same evidence does not show, when this importance originated, whether it existed before the Anglian takeover, was due to Northumbrian religious influence or came about as a result of the actions of the see of St Andrews. A combination of all three seems most likely.

The situation of the later Medieval parish church and cemetery away from the associated settlement, as at Stow, can be seen in the cases of Ancrum, by the Ale Water and Southdean by the upper Jed Water. The later Medieval parish church of Ancrum lies almost a kilometre west of the present village, which appears to have been related to the manor of the see of Glasgow at "Mantle Walls" (NT 632248) (RCAHMS.1956.57-8).The former lies below the defended settlement of "Dark Age" type on Castle Hill (p 150) (Fig I.4) and is where a "hog-back" grave-marker of early twelfth century type was found (Lang.1974.223). This date would fit with the mention of Ancrum in the Inquisitio of the lands of Glasgow of 1118, though all this only shows that a burial-ground existed, possibly related to this defended settlement on Castle Hill, by the early twelfth century and not necessarily before then. The site of the later

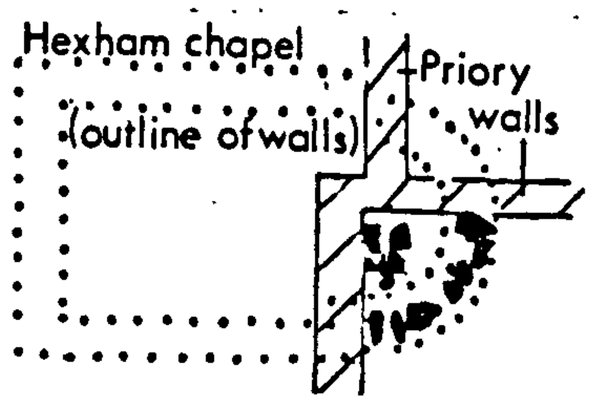


"Temple", Doon Hill.
(Hope-Taylor, unpublished)

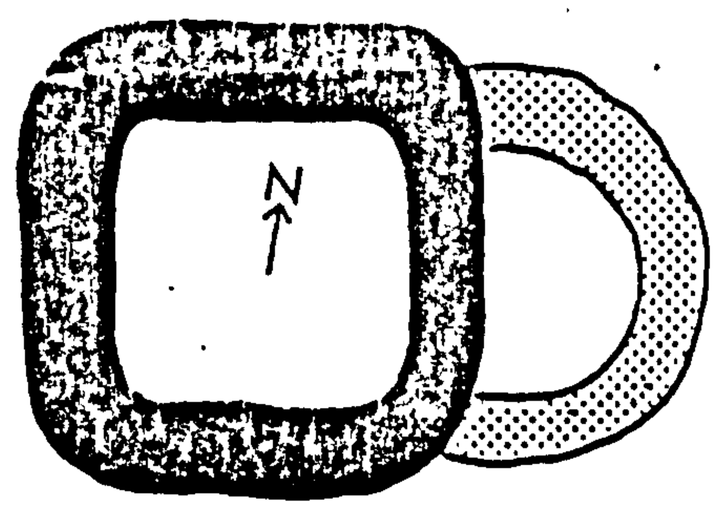
Pre-Norman Churches
in the
Tweed-Forth Area



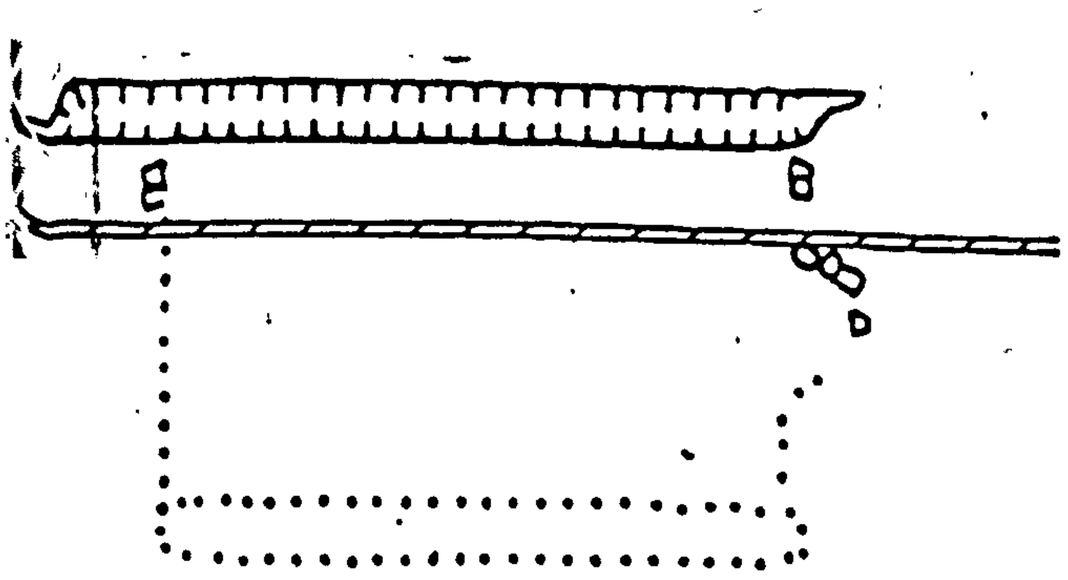
Cowpits, Inveresk
(Fig. 4.5)



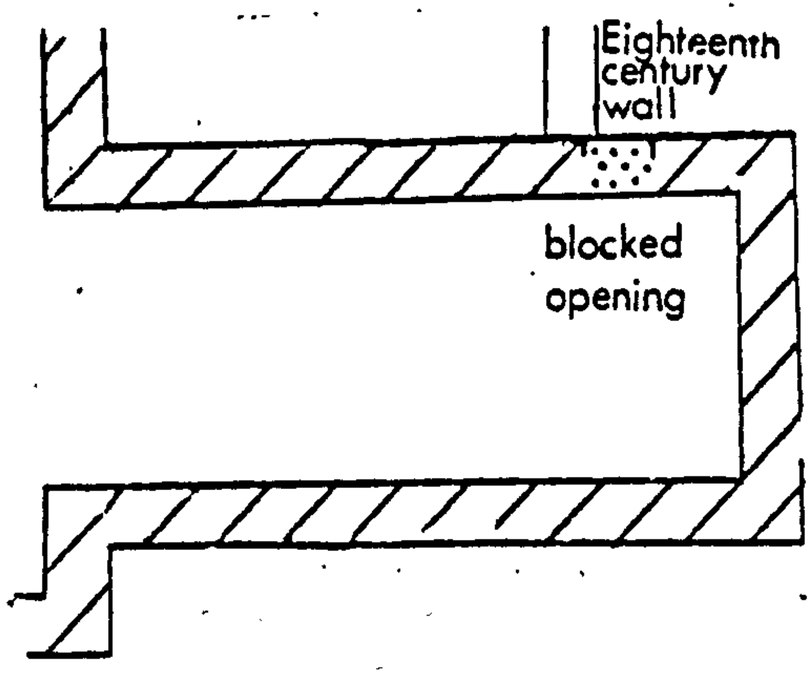
Possible chapel at Coldingham
(Fig. 7.12)



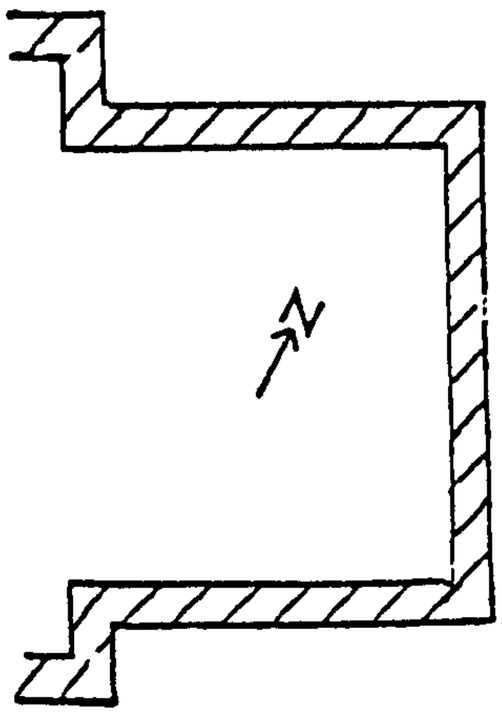
The Hirsel, Phase 1
(Cramp. 1985)



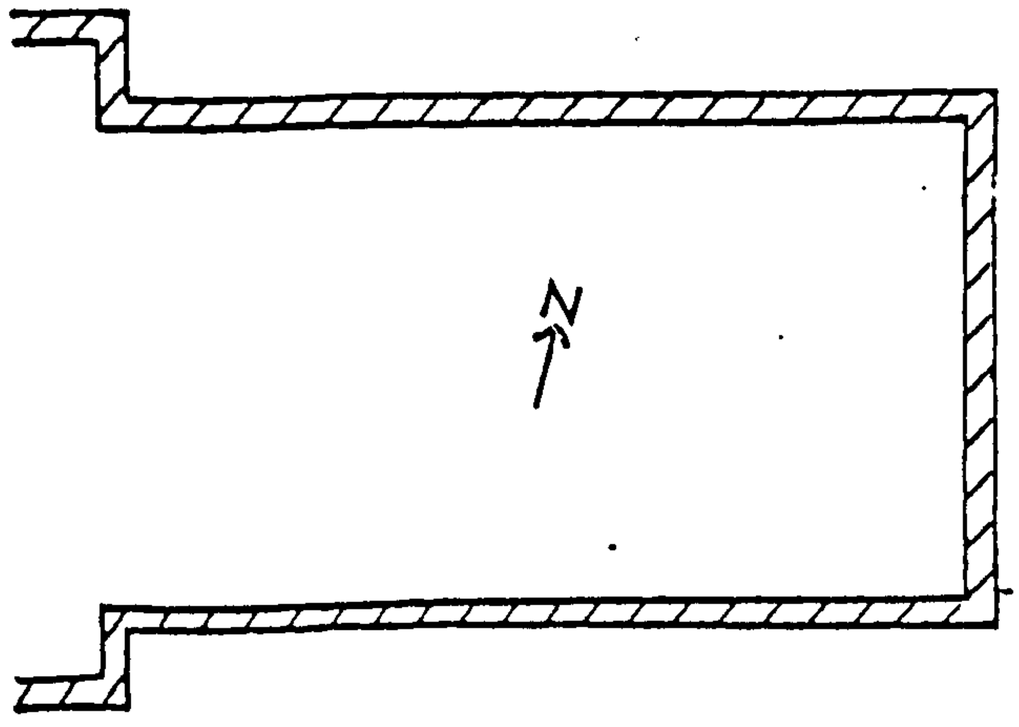
Abercorn, West Lothian
(Thomas. 1984)



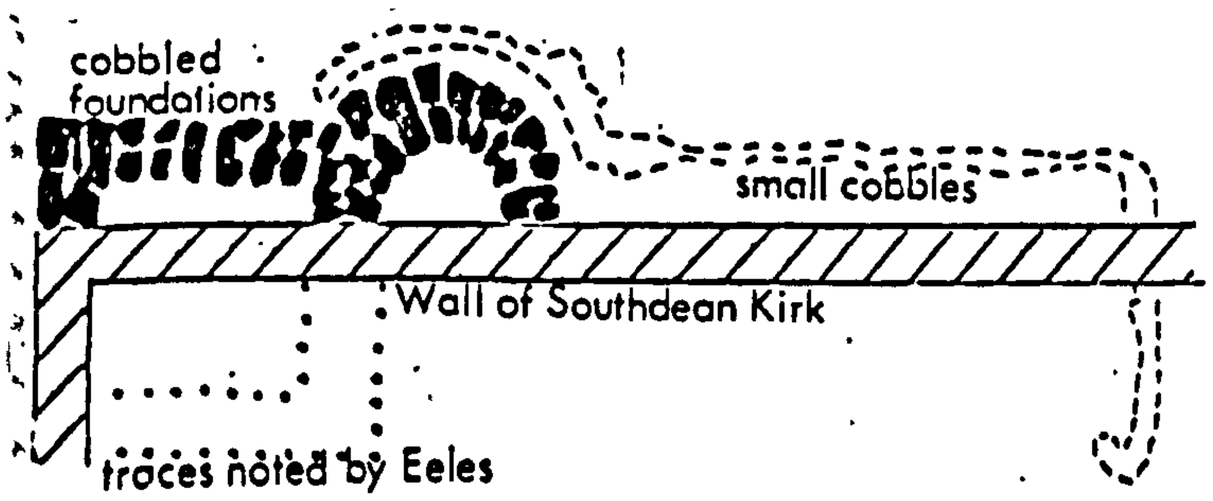
Chancel of Abercorn church



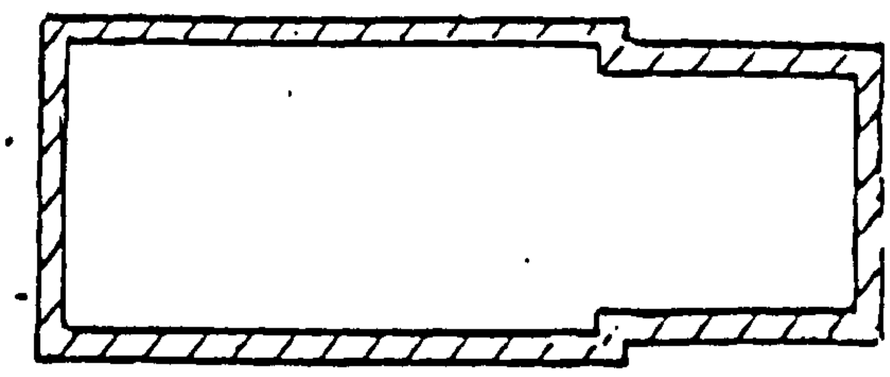
Chancel of Mow church,
Roxburghshire



Chancel of St. Andrew's church, Peebles

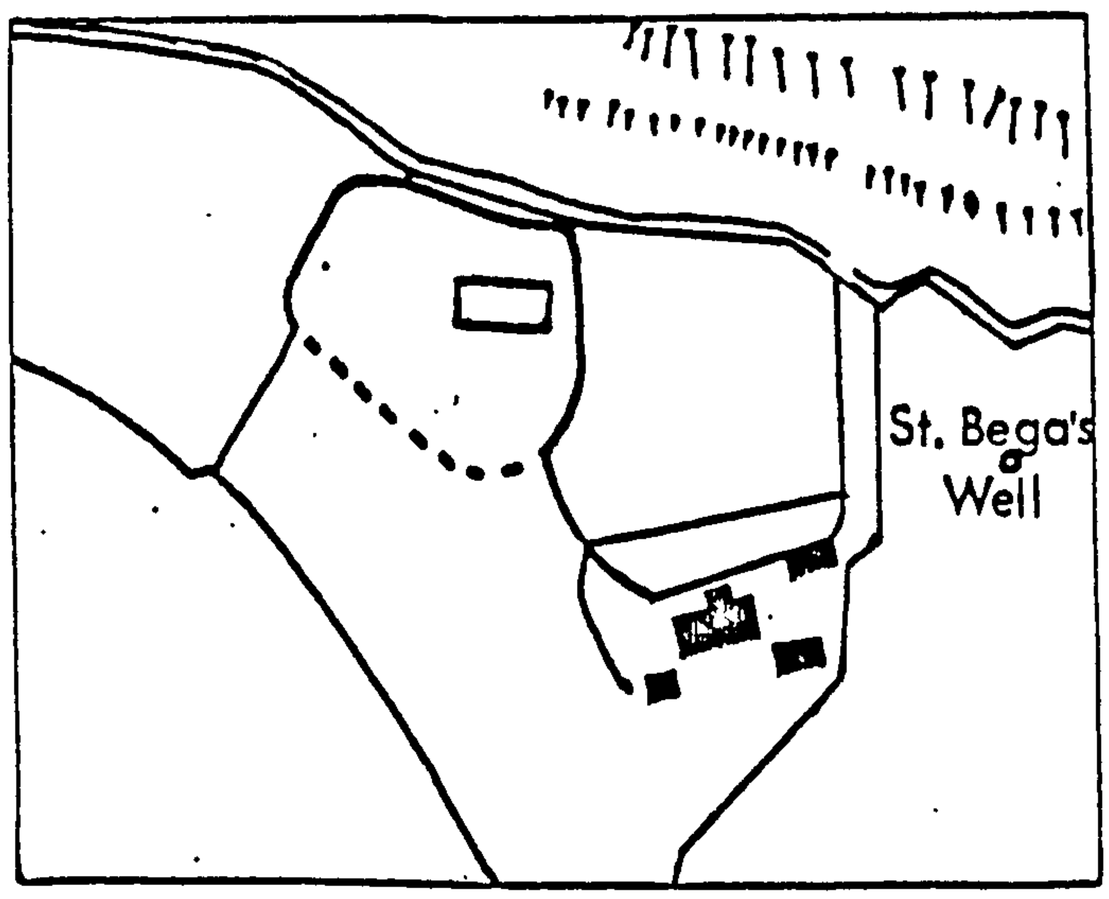


Southdean, Roxburghshire
(Inglis A. in Eeles 1911)

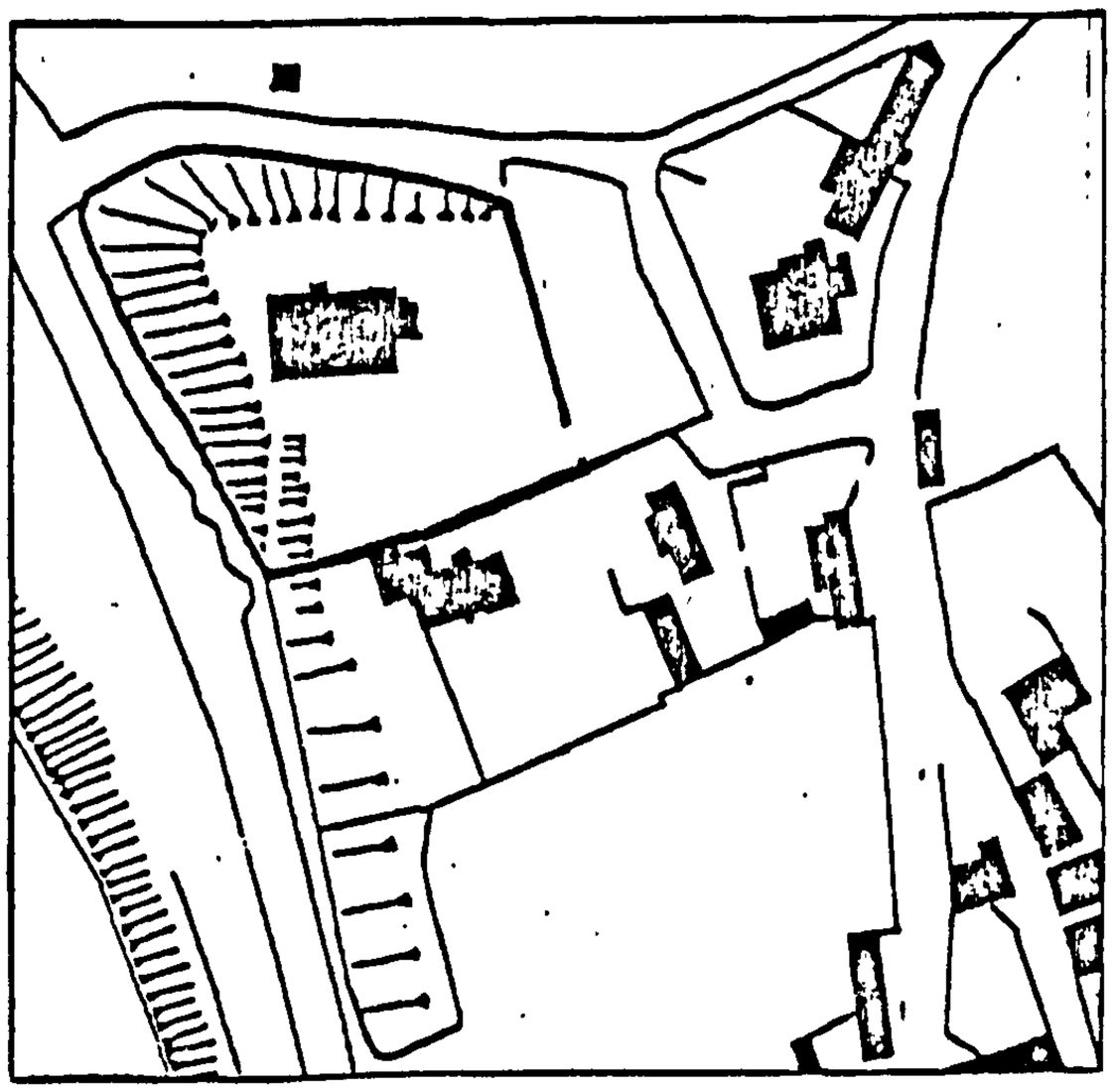


St Ebba's Chapel, later walls.
(Fig. 7.10)

Figure 7.8



Kilbucho, Peeblesshire
(Ordnance Survey 1858)



Tranent, East Lothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)

Medieval parish church of Southdean also lies below a defended settlement with a non-defensive stone-walled settlement overlying it, on Southdean Law (RCAHMS.1956. 424-6). Like Ancrum and Hume, it does not have a burial-ground of sub-oval shape, and there is no record of it before 1285. The later church overlies the fragmentary remains of a cobble foundation, possibly five metres square with an oddly-shaped adjoining structure (Fig 7.7), which was found during clearing in 1910 (Eeles.1911.556). There is, however, no evidence that would date this structure or its construction to the pre-Scottish period, it can only really be said to be of pre-thirteenth century date.

The chapel of St Bega at Kilbucho in Peeblesshire has a sub-oval burial-ground (Fig 7.8) and lies below a large defended settlement of Mitchellhill Rings (RCAHMS. 1967.133-4), so it might have originated as the "developed cemetery" for the settlement, its dependent land or its successor. It is interesting to note that St Bega was an Anglian saint, of the seventh century (OPS I, 177). However, she was venerated by the Britons of Cumbria (Ibid). So the dedication might have been post-Anglian in date. Kilbucho is also a Gaelic place-name, using the element kil for a church or chapel (Watson.1926.151) which might indicate that the cult of St Bega was flourishing at that place when the Scots took over the vicinity. There is another useful Gaelic word for any study of early Christianity, the word annat for an old church or chapel, (Macdonald A 1973) there being three known examples in the Tweed-Forth area. These are:

Craigannet near Dunipace on the Carron, Annetcross near West Calder and "Craiginate" by Restalrig in Edinburgh (Dixon.1947.87). Craigannet lies above the old chapel of Kirk o' Muir (NS 701840), implying that the chapel was old before the Scottish takeover. Annetcross in West Calder (NT 044623) can not be related to any known church or chapel site. "Craiginate" would seem to refer to the rocky eminence on which the remains of Lochend Castle stand , beside Restalrig and Edinburgh. The annat could refer to the predecessor of the church and shrine of St Triduana at Restalrig (Fig I.14), which might have originated as a holy place which was associated with a settlement on Lochend Law.

There is also the possibility that the shrine of St Triduana was a Christian conversion of a pre-Christian holy place, related to the springs or wells which might have been holy to the British natives (O'Sullivan.1980.25 253-70). There is a clear association between some import- and churches of possibly early Medieval origins and holy wells or springs. There is, St Mary's Well at Stow in Wedale and at Ratho (Mackinlay.1910.92), a "Christening Well" near Hume (NT 712405 or 699408), from which, at some date before 1901 "a brass basin richly and curiously ornamented with Celtic hammered work" was removed (Gunn. 1901.53). The most widespread dedication seems to have been to St Kentigern, there were wells or springs bearing his name at Selkirk, Mid Calder, West Linton, Stobo, Peebles, Cockpen by the South Esk, Currie on the Waters

of Leith, Loquariot and Penicuik in the upper Esk basin (Mackinlay.1910.80-3). Some of these lie near the parish church, which is dedicated to St Kentigern, as at West Linton, Stobo, Currie, Loquariot and Penicuik. The parish churches at Selkirk, Peebles and Cockpen were not dedicated to the same saint and the wells or springs lie away from the site of the church. So the connection between pre-Christian holy wells or springs and Christian church-sites might not be so definite. Few, if any, of these spring-dedications, like the dedications of actual churches can be dated to before the Reformation. Thus, it would be rather risky to claim, on the basis of dedications alone, surviving British religious influence in the parts of the Tweed-Forth area where the dedication of a church or chapel was to a British saint like Kentigern.

He was also the saint to whom the cathedral at Glasgow in Strathclyde, was dedicated and it might be reasonable to presume that the dedications to him, both of churches and wells or springs was the result of influence from Strathclyde, with the decline of the power of Northumbria, in the later ninth and tenth centuries. The Inquisitio of the lands of Glasgow (pp 88-89) showed that Strath-clyde or its church had come to own land in the Tweed-Forth area before the twelfth century, though in the upper Tweed basin and the Ale valley. This does not include the land around the upper Esk basin nor west of Edinburgh; in these parts the dedications were possibly the results of Strath-clyde British influence on the inhabitants of the parts

who had maintained their British cultural identity (Bowen. 1969.83-5).

The site of Stobo is of special interest since it was the original centre of the later parishes of Broughton, Dawick, Drummelzier, Glenholm, Lyne and Tweedsmuir (Cowan. 1967.187). This includes all the land in the Tweed valley west of Peebles and it has been suggested above (p 310) that it was a British estate or area of overlordship which had come into existence by the time of the Scottish takeover and had itself been taken over by the see of Glasgow. There is no artefactual or structural evidence to support Cowan and Easson's suggestion that the place was the seat of a "proto-episcopate" (1976.53). It could be envisaged as an estate under British clerical control, like those which were mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p71). However, it seems to have come into existence or under Glasgow's control, at some time between the decline of Northumbrian power and the twelfth century. Though this site and the possible land-block is worthy of more study than they have received, they underline the need to consider the "gap" period between the decline of Northumbrian power in the ninth century and the twelfth century.

There is also the obvious need not to neglect the activities of the British church in the area in the "gap" period. The occurrence of the cross-fragments at Manor and Innerleithen show that there was a demand for these in the parts of the Tweed-Forth area which were not directly open to Anglian influence or control. The origins of the

makers of these crosses is not known, whether they were itinerant masons, people associated with the local British chiefs, or masons from the Anglian areas who could be "hired" for work or specific tasks. The recently re-discovered "Pyket Stane" from Broughton in Peeblesshire (Fig III.6) and the odd, very crude "cross" from Netherurd near West Linton, above the Lyne valley (Fig III.7), suggest a different interpretation. Though the former cross-fragment probably came from an old chapel-site at Kirklaw-hill, by the Biggar Water, in the parish of Skirling (NT 088377), it came to be associated with Pyket Hill, where the parish of Kirkurd bordered that of Broughton (Fisher.1984.Pers.Comm). The "cross" from Netherurd was found by ploughing of a hill-slope at NT 103440 and is not associated with any known burial-ground or chapel. The first cross seems to be Anglo-Norse in its inspiration with the interlace-design and Fisher has dated it to the tenth Century or slightly later (1982.566). In spite of this influence, Fisher has implied that the carver of the cross was associated with the manor of the see of Glasgow, a probability which would fit with Stevenson's discussion of the stone from Netherurd Mains, which the latter related to crosses which came from the territory of Strathclyde, especially the pair from Westruther Burn, near Carnwath (Stevenson.1959.52-3). Fisher's work thus provides more evidence for a British tradition of cross-carving, incorp-orating Northumbrian and Norse influences, which developed in the tenth century, with the decline of Northumbrian

power. The cross from Kirklawhill could have originally marked a meeting-place, which later became the site of a "developed cemetery", as at Kirkton of Manor and Innerleithen (p 362). The distribution of these later cross-fragments would seem to be associated with the extent of the power of British Strathclyde, both territorially, as implied by the Inquisitio of the lands of the see of Glasgow, and in terms of cultural influence.

The land around the upper South Esk has been discussed above (p 334), because of the distribution of certain place-names seemed to indicate expansion of settlement in the later part of the pre-Norman period. In this respect, the three fragments of pre-Norman crosses which were found during the restoration of the church of St Kentigern at Borthwick, in the late nineteenth century (Allen.1903.421-3) (Figs III.8, 9, 10), could be seen in relation to this possible expansion. Though these fragments were found at the church of Borthwick, which is of twelfth century origin (MacGibbon and Ross.1897.314), it is possible that they came originally from the site of Loquariot, which lies about a kilometre to the north, across the Gore Water (Fig I.12). Both Bowen (1969.83-6) and Jackson (1958.337) are agreed that Loquariot and the associated well which was also dedicated to St Kentigern, and recorded in 1534, was probably the focus of his cult in Midlothian. It might have been the original centre of the present parish of Borthwick, the Lothwerverd which was given to the abbey of Scone in 1163 (Cowan.1967.29), though no trace remains

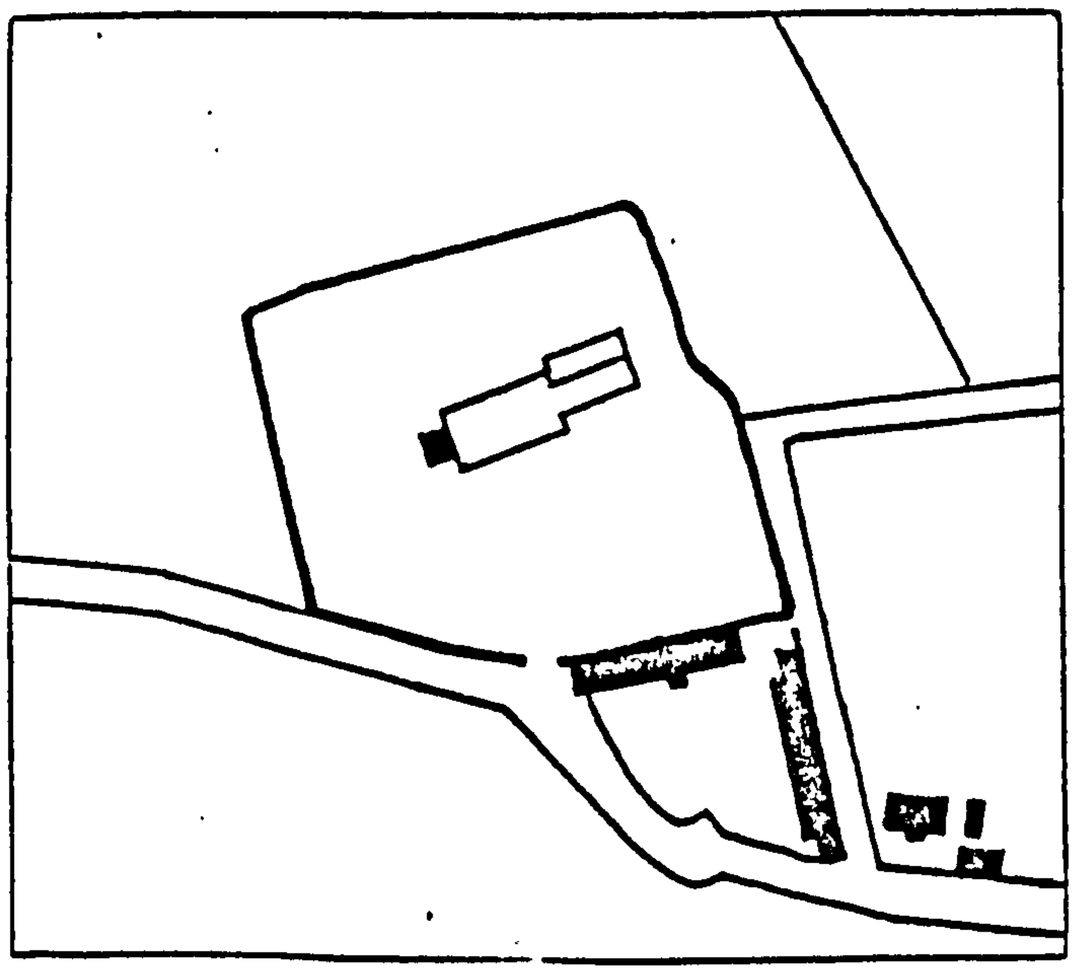
of any church or chapel at Loquariot. Nor is it known if or when the present church of Borthwick superseded Loquariot as the centre of the parish. Though when it did, the three crosses could have been brought to Borthwick from Loquariot. The presence of one piece of pre-Norman religious sculpture at a site is interesting enough, while the presence of three is indicative of considerable importance. This site at Loquariot or Borthwick has received no attention or study from authorities on early Medieval North Britain, mainly due to the fact that two of the cross-fragments are built into the walls of Crookston House, by the Gala Water and the third has not been visible to the public for at least ten years.

This unfortunate lack of attention by authorities means that the dating of the cross-fragments is not really reliable. The author has been told that they are probably of Tenth Century date (I Henderson 1983 Pers.Comm) and could belong to the Strathclyde style of sculpture, as has been discussed on this page and above. The third cross, which is in the possession of the National Museum of Scotland, has a "debased key-pattern and interlace" decoration on the front and rear (Allen.1903.421)(Fig III.8) and two beasts below, which are clearly not in the Northumbrian sculptural tradition. This could have been the "miraculous cross", which was mentioned in one of the Lives of St Kentigern as being capable of curing insanity (Jackson. 1958.337), which would fit with the holy well at Loquariot and the tradition of healing in association with such places.

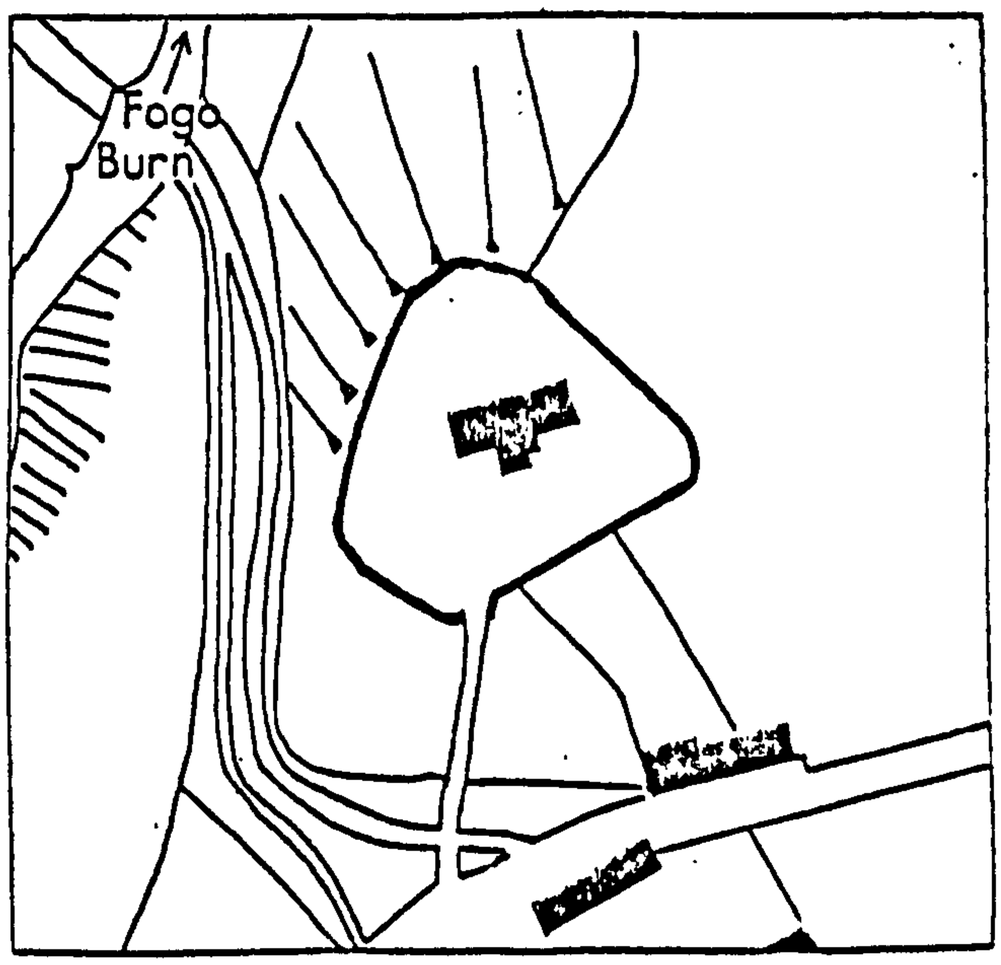
The other two cross-fragments would seem to be in the more obvious Northumbrian sculptural tradition, with the interlace and cable-border (Figs III.9,10). They could be compared with the later cross-fragments from Jedburgh (pp 421-423)(Figs III.24,25,29) and could further show the cultural "cross-pollination" of Anglian, Scotto-Pictish and British sculptural traditions, the latter two borrowing much from the first. The fact that Loquariot lies in the same parish as two important Gaelic place-names, Catcune and the lost Rathquillane (Dixon.1947.84), could imply that this Early Christian site owed its origins to a Gaelic Scottish person or persons. There is a similarity to the situation of the church and cemetery at Ratho, with a defended settlement near to and possibly associated with a pre-Norman Christian site, and a Gaelic influence apparent, though this could have been of any date up to the twelfth century.

It could be said that the evidence which has been considered in this chapter is not strictly relevant to a study of the Anglo-Saxon occupation of south-east Scotland. However, the Northumbrian presence in the Tweed-Forth area would have affected Britons outside the immediate vicinities of actual Anglian settlement. This can be seen in the carved cross-fragments which have been discussed in this chapter, of apparently Strathclyde British influence which complements the place-name evidence for surviving or renewed British cultural identity in the western parts of the Tweed-Forth area (p 112). This also raises

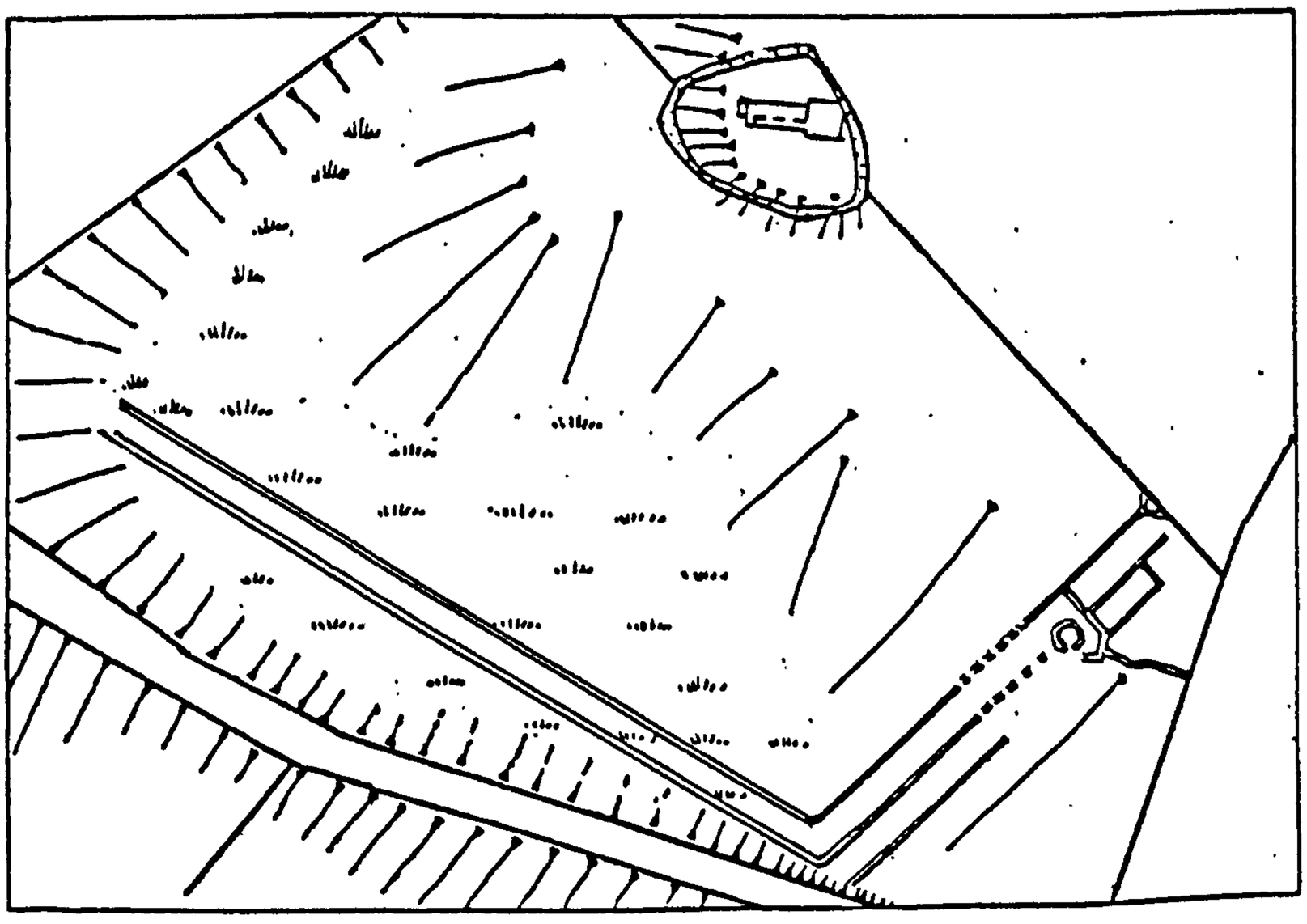
the question of the differences between a Briton and an 'Anglian' in the same area in the pre-Norman period. The personages with distinctively non-Brittonic personal names like "Thor son of Swein" of Tranent and Thurstan of Crichton, who occur in the twelfth century charters (pp 92, 356) might have had ancestors with British personal names so that their adoption of Anglian names might not have affected their basic material culture, their life-styles or even their settlement sites. Because these parts of the Tweed-Forth area, the upper Tweed basin and the Lothians, lay within the general territory of North-umbria they could be described as Anglian though also British. The development of enclosed burial-grounds or churches or chapels being related to specific groupings of settlements or territorial groupings, the origins of parishes, is difficult to trace as a result of the lack of specific study or datable remains. Similarly, the role of the Anglian Northumbrian church is difficult to assess in the absence of definitely pre-Scottish remains. The two churches which were recorded in the Inquisitio of the lands of the see of Glasgow, at Traquair and Peebles, as existing before 1119 (p 88), could have come into existence through the influence of the Anglian church at Old Melrose or at a later date through the Britons having developed towards a greater degree of religious organisation, in the course of time and some Anglian influence. No trace is known of the earliest church at Traquair though the remains of the church of



St Andrews, Peebles
(Ordnance Survey 1858)



Fogo, Berwickshire
(Ordnance Survey 1857)



Mount Lothian,
Midlothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)

With walls and possible hut-foundation, noted by author, 1984

St Andrew at Peebles seem to lie within a burial-ground which has an apparently sub-oval shape noticeable in the present plan. Thus it could have originated as a "developed cemetery" like those which have been considered in this section and like the others, there is only the early twelfth century terminus ante quem from a document, not from any artefacts. The shape of the church is odd, with a very large chancel, at least 13 by 7 metres internally (Fig 7.9, 7) and the example of the church at the Hirsel, where the first chapel became the chancel (p 354) could suggest that this other chancel might have been the earliest church of St Andrew. This is another example of conjectures and suppositions which have been made on the basis of some reasonably reliable evidence or opinions of relevant authorities and mostly on the basis of the recurrence of certain patterns of sites and their apparent relationships.

This lack of dating evidence is the major problem, as with the place-names, records of these in a twelfth century document, similarities in size and shape to more probable "developed cemeteries", does not prove that the example came into existence before the later ninth century. The burial-grounds at Fogo, in North Berwickshire and at Mount Lothian in the upper South Esk basin (Fig 7.9) are sub-oval in shape but have no other evidence for their being of early Medieval date. Fogo can be related to the land and settlements which became its parish, at some later date and its position within the Tweed-White Adder-Leader

land-block suggests that it owed its origins to Anglian influence and the later collapse of Northumbrian Christian authorities. Mount Lothian is a most intriguing site with the odd name (p 111) and a peculiar group of earthworks around it, which might be related and seem to include a round house foundation (Fig 7.9), implying an early date for these. There is no apparent relationship with any settlements other than nearby Halkerston, which has been associated with the possible expansion of settlement in the upper South Esk basin in the eleventh or twelfth century (p 334). Though this evidence is not very impressive, it does underline the relationship between the places of burial and religious activities and the associated settlements and shows that it is often necessary to consider the two in association rather than separately.

This study could be criticised for assuming too much significance for the later parishes, that they perpetuated arrangements or even boundary-lines of considerable antiquity. Certainly the arrangements of mother churches and chapels or the recorded settlements of an estate in relation to parochial land-blocks, might have been affected by later changes, though the basic pattern or patterns would probably have survived. The evidence of holy wells and springs is similarly difficult to date and if it were not for the work of O'Sullivan, on examples in Cumbria (1980.253-70), they might not have been considered at all. The dedications of churches is similarly a difficult type of evidence, as a result of the lack of early dating evidence for British

saints, such as Kentigern. The oddly isolated dedication of the church at Polwarth to him (Mackinlay.1910.83), is against the possibly early Anglian nature of the place-name and only later influence could explain the occurrence, in the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block. Mackinlay has remarked on the essentially Celtic nature of the cult of St Michael, to whom the churches at Linlithgow, Inveresk, Gordon in Berwickshire and Sprouston by the Tweed were dedicated (1910.338, 345-51). However, Bede refers to a chapel and "developed cemetery" "half a mile from the church at Hexham", as being dedicated to St Michael (H E V.2) which suggests that the saint's cult might have owed something to Northumbrian influence or religious activity, though it does not imply that a church with this dedication came into existence in this particular period. The odd dedications, like St Gorgian at Manor (p 362) of St Machan at Ecclesmachan, only imply early religious origins, they do not prove the existence of a church or chapel at the place in the early Medieval period.

As it is, the dating of the "developed cemeteries" to the eighth century or later is not definite. In spite of the extent of the patterns of relationships, the link between the pre-Anglian burials, like the long-cist cemeteries and the possible "developed cemeteries" is not definitely proven. The date or period when the pre-Anglian British burial-grounds were superseded remains to be identified, especially if Anglian religious activity,

as implied in the two Lives of St Cuthbert, consisted of preaching and converting at established gathering-places. If this was so, the "developed cemeteries" might not have come into existence until the ninth century, as seems to have been the case at the Hirsel (p 354) and the crosses could be envisaged as the initial phase of this development, with the centralised burial arrangements as the next development and the construction of a chapel or church was the development after that. It might be no coincidence that the crosses which have been discussed in this section occur away from where the large long-cist cemeteries were concentrated. The implication of this would be that the British communities in the upper Tweed basin were either too sparsely distributed or their arrangements not sufficiently developed, to allow organised burial or religious activities, until after the influence of the Northumbrian church had made an impression. These possibilities and conjectures might be more understandable and even datable, if they are seen in relation to the evidence for Christianity and religious activities in the parts of the Tweed-Forth area where there was more Anglian settlement.

2) The Anglian Monasteries

I Old Melrose: Mailros

The first mention of this establishment is in the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert, when it refers to Cuthbert entering the monastery at some time between 651 and 685 (p 60). Bede refers to it in connection with Colman, the Abbot of Lindisfarne and bishop of York, leaving his offices in 664, as a result of the Synod of Whitby and his replacement by Eata, Abbot of Mailros (H E III.26). This shows the connection between Lindisfarne and Mailros, possibly since the latter was founded by Aidan and the Scottish clerics soon after the former, as Cowan and Easson have suggested (1976.48). The association of the place with Cuthbert and his superior, Abbot Boisil, ensured that the place became celebrated and was mentioned in the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede, though these references do not give any details of the monastery or its buildings. It was "seized" by Kenneth MacAlpin during one of the "six times" he raided Northumbria, between 841 and 858, according to the Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland (Anderson A O 1922.288), presumably meaning that it was sacked. However, it was mentioned in the odd list of possessions of Lindisfarne, under the year 854, in the Historia Regum which is attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis (p 76) and was not formally abandoned until 1074 (Cowan and Easson. 1976.51).

The site of the monastery of Mailros lay at Old Melrose "almost completely surrounded by a bend in the

River Tweed" as Bede described it (H E V.12), though like Lindisfarne, it has received no excavation. The sixth chapter of Bede's Life of St Cuthbert refers to Boisil waiting for Cuthbert by a gate, which would have been in the outer wall or vallum monasterii. Fieldwork by Thomas has located the wall, surviving as a well-eroded ditch, approximately 3 metres wide by 1 deep, between two indistinct banks, making a boundary-marker 250 metres long, across the narrowest part of the bend. In a piece of recently-planted woodland, on the crest of a ridge at the centre of the narrow part, a roughly-cobbled road ran apparently from the Roman road at Eildon to the site of the monastery. This was probably where the gate was, where the road encountered the vallum monaterii (Thomas. 1971.35; RCAHMS.1956.323). Neither of these structures has been dated and the possibility is that they were older than the monastery. Thomas has suggested that this place was the site of an important pre-Anglian British Christian site (1971.18), a suggestion which can only be tested by excavation. It has been suggested above (pp 183, 303) that the place was associated with the pre-Anglian British centre around Eildon Hill North, so that the granting of the place "cum appendentibus suis", according to the Historia de S. Cuthberto, automatically gave the monks control over large tracts of land (p 74).

The possibility that the "Tweed-White Adder-Leader" land-block was this same piece of dependent land is not proven. If Old Melrose was the site of a British "centre"

or place of importance, residence there might have given the clerics powers of varying degrees, which might have changed during the time of the Anglian occupation. A "dominio..de Melros" is mentioned in the Charter of David I, of 1119, for Selkirk Abbey, as being in the royal possession, though details were not given. It has been suggested above (p 303) that this included the general vicinity of the later parishes of Melrose, Bowden and Midlem (Fig I.6), on the basis of their boundaries, though this presumes a great deal, in the absence of evidence for early Medieval settlement in the vicinity west of the "Military Road" and south of the Bowden burn. The "dominio de Melros" could just refer to the land associated with the settlements around Eildon Hill North and Old Melrose or to some more general state of overlordship which was related to the site of the monastery.

The fact that the church of Lessuden parish was dedicated to St Boisil, and thus gave the settlement the name of St Boswells, could indicate some kind of association between the site (NT 604305) and the Anglian monastery. There is no evidence to support the suggestion that it originated as a chapel or burial-ground which was associated with Mailros . It might have originated, like the burial-ground at Bowden, which also became a later Medieval parish centre, as a "developed cemetery" which came into existence after the sack of Mailros , though evidence to support this inference is lacking for both the

examples. The apparent connection between Mailros and the upper Leader basin, implied by Cuthbert's entering the monastery is interesting, if "caring for his master's flocks" by the Leader in 655 and the Leader being one of the boundaries of the major land-block beside Mailros is borne in mind. If, as has been suggested above (p 285) the land around Carfrae in the upper Leader valley was associated with this land-block, it might explain the associations of St Cuthbert with Channelkirk (MacKinlay. 1910.242). Channelkirk was a cirice-element place-name, lying on the Roman road from Newstead to the Forth (p 136). It was probably a meeting-place for religious activities and preaching by clerics from Mailros and became a parish centre and a "developed cemetery" at a later date. Thus, Selkirk might have been the site of religious activities and preaching, under a cleric from Mailros, a role which was related to its economic or social importance (p 306). This would fit with the lack of evidence for any early cemeteries or churches in the immediate vicinity of Mailros, or any mention of them in the Lives of St Cuthbert.

Though all this information allows some suppositions to be made concerning the relationships between Mailros and the surrounding land, there is the strange fact that no pieces of sculptured stone crosses, of Anglian workmanship, have been found at or near the site of the monastery. This is in spite of a later Medieval chapel being built at Old Melrose, presumably on the site of the monastery's church (NT 58863410). Only the cross-fragment

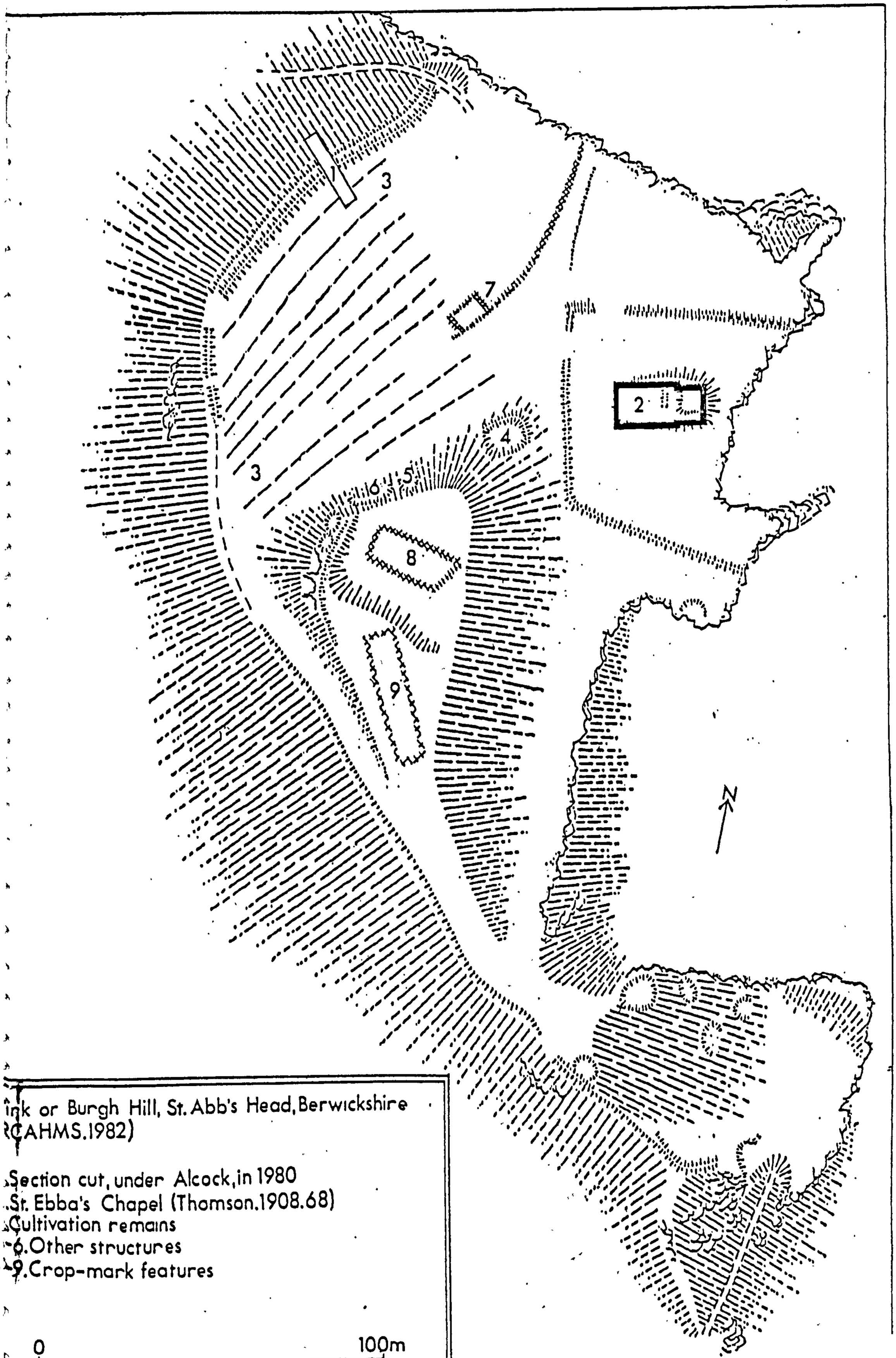
from Gattonside, which lay 4 kilometres to the west and across the Tweed, might have been associated (Fig III.11) (Allen.1903 Vol III.433). It would seem to be of eighth or ninth century type and could have either come from the monastery or marked a meeting or preaching-place for the settlements on the north side of the Tweed. J A Smith has remarked on the lack of evidence for a chapel or burial-ground at Gattonside, though there was a cross-base there in the mid-nineteenth century, which might have been associated (1874.448-50). This base might have supported a cross of later Medieval date, which was associated with the later monastery at Melrose, which was lost. Thus, this important piece of Anglian sculpture is "unstratified", as is the fragment of an ornate shrine-tomb, of eighth century date, which was found at Jedburgh (Fig III.18). Ralegh Radford has suggested that this was the tomb of St Boisil at Mailros, the fragments of which were removed to Jedburgh after the remains of the saint were removed by "Elfredus filius Westou" in the early eleventh century, to be taken to Durham (Radford.1955.43-7). Cramp has pointed out that there is no evidence to prove or disprove this suggestion (1983.281).

The monastery of Mailros seems to have been in existence and the centre of both ecclesiastical and secular power for over two centuries, with prestige beyond the Tweed basin as is implied by Drythelm's coming there from Incuneningham or Chester-le-Street in Durham, as Nicolaisen has proposed (1976.71). Though Bede's account (HE V.12) shows that there were

provisions for eremitics in the area of the monastery, along with much open ground. This only confirms that, by the late seventh century, Mailros was very much an Irish Celtic monastery, in spite of the Synod of Whitby in 664. If this was the case, the lack of finds of crosses or structural remains on the site is difficult to understand. The fact that the later Medieval chapel of St Cuthbert stood to the north of the present house of Old Melrose and burials were found to the east of the same house (RCAHMS.1956.303) could imply that the principal buildings of the monastery lay in the vicinity or to the north-west, on the highest part of the peninsula. This is all speculation since these remains might bear no relation to those of the Anglian period and it is obvious that the whole site is in considerable need of study and examination.

II Kirk Hill, Coldingham: Colodaesbyrig

As with Mailros , there is no definite recorded date for the foundation of this monastery, though Alcock has suggested that the palisade was constructed soon after 643, on the basis of a Carbon-14 date (p 182) and the fact that the monastery was founded by Aebbe, the sister of Oswald of Northumbria, who became king in that year (Alcock.1981b,233) The Life of Wilfrid of York records Ecgfrid of Northumbria visiting the place in the course of a royal "progress", in around 680 (p 69), referring to the double monastery as Colodaesbyrig. Bede refers to a disastrous fire (H E IV.25) dated by the "E" manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle to 679 which caused


1
2
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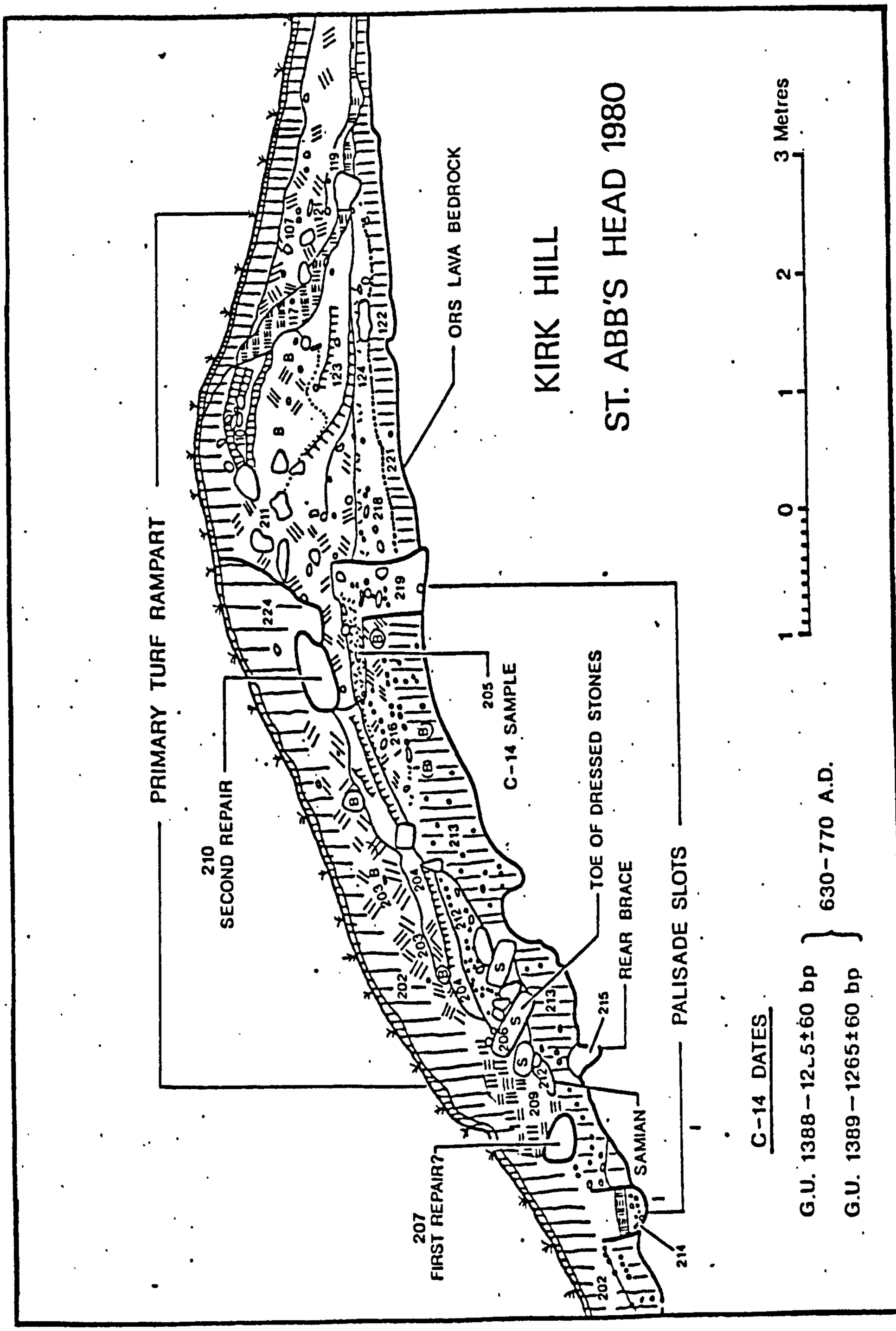
N
Ink or Burgh Hill, St. Abb's Head, Berwickshire
RCAHMS. 1982)
Section cut, under Alcock, in 1980
St. Ebba's Chapel (Thomson. 1908. 68)
Cultivation remains
6. Other structures
9. Crop-mark features
0
100m

Figure 7.11

(Alcock L and E A 1981)



the departure of the monks from what had originally been a double monastery, on the Frankish model. In spite of this, Matthew Paris recorded a tradition that the nuns remained there until 872, when it was sacked by the Vikings, though this seems based on hagiography, not fact (Anderson A O 1908.61-2).

Alcock used the references in both Lives of St Cuthbert, to the subject's "midnight dip", while he was staying there, to show that the site of the monastery must have had access to the sea (Alcock and Alcock.1981.1). The most suitable site for this was the hill with an area of 3 hectares on the top which was known as Kirk Hill or "The Burgh" (Fig 7.10), which lay on St Abbs Head. The excavations in 1980 revealed that the turf rampart which surrounded the summit of the hill was of Anglian origin, built over an oaken double-palisade of earlier Seventh Century date (Fig 7.11). This latter structure has been discussed above (p 182-3) as probably representing the first Anglian occupation of the site, the byrig or burgh, which is mentioned in the second part of the place-name and possibly succeeded a British place of importance. Though there are two or possibly three phases of construction visible in this turf bank, these have not been dated or associated with phases of building in the rest of the site (Fig 7.11) (Alcock.1981b.234). In spite of the small size of Alcock's excavation, it has shown the resources and manpower that was available to the clerics of the monastery, that a turf bank 6 metres wide by 1.6 high and over 400 long could be constructed at their behest.

It also shows the relationship between secular and religious power and importance, with a secular place of importance being given to the church, possibly one of pre-Anglian British origins.

In spite of the lack of large-scale excavation, aerial photography has located two crop-marks which could mark the site of stone buildings which belonged to the monastery (Fig 7.10). These were apparently 27 by 11 metres and 36 by 10 metres in size, the former being aligned almost east-west, the second almost north-south, both lying on artificially-levelled platforms on the highest part of the internal area. Examination of the surface remains by the author, in 1984, revealed burnt stones and pieces of mortar in and immediately around the smaller structure, which could imply that it was a mortared stone building, where processes involving fire had taken place, possibly the workshop for the monastery. Though this mortar is different from that which came from the later chapel of St Abbs, the burnt stones could have been a result of either of the two recorded conflagrations on the site, so the identification of the building is not proven satisfactorily. The site of the chapel of St Abbs, in the northern part of the site, could be on the ruins of the chapel or church of the monastery, which could explain the remains of this later Medieval building lying on a pronounced mound, up to 0.4 metres high.

As well as the construction of this chapel, in the twelfth Century (MacGibbon and Ross.1896.I.437), the summit was further interfered with in the nineteenth century, when

the owner put part of it under the plough and, allegedly gathered all the stones from the chapel and the summit and threw them into the sea (Thomson.1908.64-70). The traces of rig-cultivation and a possible field-wall with an associated building, 8 by 12 metres in area, just north of the chapel-site, could belong to this later phase of the use of the site. The hollow which is also 8 by 12 metres in extent, which lies just beside it and partially cut into the slope of the upper part of the site, along with the three small scoops on the north side of this hump which seem to have been truncated by the ploughing, could be earlier than the nineteenth century. However, they could equally belong to the later Medieval re-use of the site, the second structure could have been a dwelling place which was associated with the chapel.

Cramp has used Bede's account of the reasons for the disastrous fire, in the Historia Ecclesiastica (IV.25), to give important details of the double monastery prior to the fire (Cramp.1976.206). Bede referred to "lofty buildings", "individual cells" and "little houses", and to the wealth of the nuns who were accused of "weaving fine apparel", which also implies the presence of cloth-making equipment. This evidence, if taken together, shows Colodaesbyrig to have been a wealthy and well-endowed establishment, especially if it was the centre of an 'estate' of the size which is implied by the twelve- vill arrangement which is referred to in Edgar's charter of 1095 (p 82)

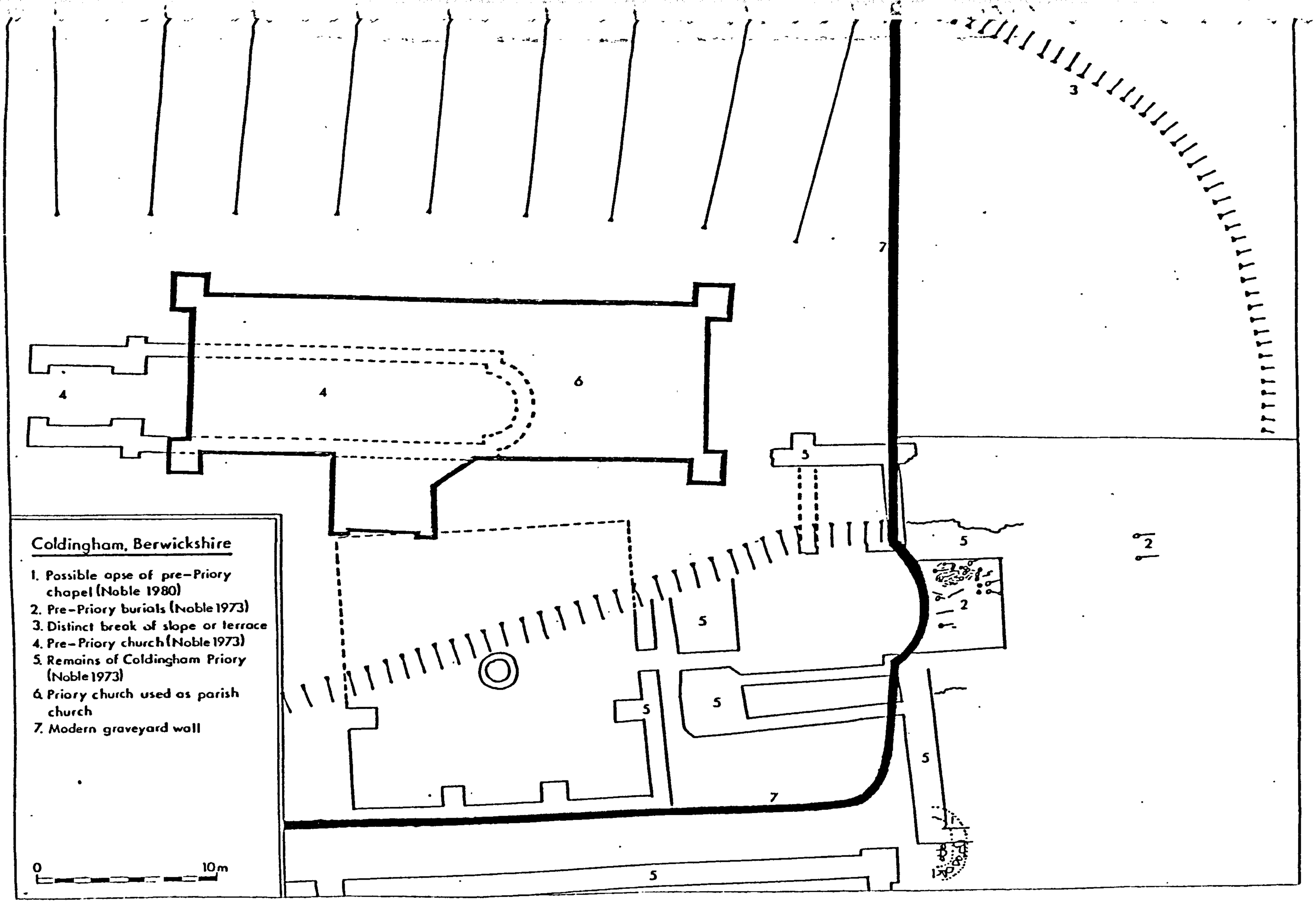

Coldingham, Berwickshire
1. Possible apse of pre-Priory chapel (Noble 1980)
2. Pre-Priory burials (Noble 1973)
3. Distinct break of slope or terrace
4. Pre-Priory church (Noble 1973)
5. Remains of Coldingham Priory (Noble 1973)
6. Priory church used as parish church
7. Modern graveyard wall
0
10m

Figure 7.12

(Fig I.8).

Until Alcock's excavations had shown the monastery to have been on St Abbs Head, it used to be assumed that it had been where the present settlement of Coldingham is situated, and on the site of the later Medieval priory. Digging in the graveyard of the present church has uncovered various finds which are worthy of note, including a coin of EP(ISCOPUS) EADBALD , who was Bishop of York in 796 and 797 (Hist.Bwk Nat.Club.10.1882.260) and a bronze strap-end (Smith I A 1984.12), of a type which is comparable to one which was found during excavation of the monastery of Whitby (Laing.1975.45) (Fig II.7). Limited excavation on the site of the priory by the Berwickshire Naturalist Club has uncovered a large cemetery which was cut into and much disturbed by the construction of the Priory (Noble.1973.178). This seems to have extended to the east of the later priory, where field-walking by the author in 1984 located a change in the shape of the field and the vegetation, making an arc of what might have been the original extent of this burial-ground (Fig 7.12). This could imply that the graves and this earth-work are the remains of a "developed cemetery" which grew up at Coldingham during the time of the Anglian occupation. St Michael's Knowe, which might have been the site of a pre-Anglian cemetery (p 218) lies around 200 metres to the north-east, which cannot be mere coincidence, since it shows the continuing use of a certain site for burials from the British into the Anglian period.(p 221). Noble's

excavations have also uncovered the much-robbed remains of what might have been half of the foundations of an apse, as Alcock has suggested (Noble.1980). If this was such a structure, the original apse would have been identical to that of the small chapel which lay to the east of the church of St Andrew at Hexham (Taylor.1965. 308) (Fig 7.7.). Just above these remains, a finely-dressed red sandstone slab with Abbatissa , inscribed on one of the thinner sides (Fig II.8) was found in 1973. Cramp has identified it as being reminiscent of or influenced by eighth century Northumbrian monastic script and literally meaning "belonging to the abbess" (Noble. 1973.177). Clearance of the ruins of the Priory in the nineteenth century uncovered a fragment of an Anglian cross which was depicted in A Carr's History of Coldingham Priory (1836.318), though the present whereabouts of this fragment are not known (Fig III.12). Cramp is of the opinion that it is eighth or ninth century in date and resembles a lost cross-fragment from Norham as well as some of the figures on the main cross which was found at Hoddom in Dumfriesshire and also lost later (Cramp Pers. Comm.1985) (Cramp.1984.II.Pl 206:1188). Another cross-fragment was found at Gosmount Farm, to the west of Coldingham village (Allen.1903 : III.429) (Fig III.13), which has been dated by Cramp to the eighth or ninth century and is obviously of Anglian workmanship (Cramp. 1984.197).

The literal meaning of Coldingham, "the settlement of the people associated with Din Colud (or Colodaesbyrig)" (p 124), would have made it the most suitable place for a "developed cemetery". The implications of all this evidence is for a burial-ground, which was set up for the people who lived within the dependent lands of the Anglian monastery, by the same clerics, near the site of the earlier burial-ground, with an associated chapel and at least one cross. There is no evidence to suggest that the nuns moved the site of their establishment to Coldingham itself after the first fire. The strap-end, like the piece of possibly Anglian pottery which was found in the course of the excavation (Laing.1972.242), could have been lost there by the natives or some of the clerics. This is not to exclude the possibility of there having been some kind of dwelling near this probable chapel, as at the Hirsel (p 354). The construction of the later Medieval Priory and related settlement has removed all the identifiable traces of Coldingaham , so that only this impressive, if unstratified, evidence is left. The possible fragments of a sub-oval enclosed "developed cemetery", including the segment east of the present church, remain possible, not definite since they could be related to the later Priory or the church which was constructed on the site in the late eleventh century (Fig 7.12).

Cramp has commented on the fact that "early monastic sites were 'twinned' with important secular settlements"

and has cited Colodaesbyrig as an example (Cramp.1983. 278). This was clearly for economic purposes, providing territorial arrangements to support the non-labouring population of a monastery or nunnery. With this monastery, the basic details of these arrangements have survived, in the Charter of Edgar of 1095 (p 82). With this and the other pieces of evidence which have been considered in the course of this study, it might be possible to examine the development of the land and settlements within "Coldinghamshire", from Later Prehistoric until Post-Medieval times. Developments after the sack of the nunnery can be traced on the basis of the early Scotto-Norman Charters, most notably that of Edgar, of 1095, and that of the Bishop of St Andrews, of 1127 (pp 83-84). The former refers to Ayton's having become a double settlement and the second showed what the see was prepared to yield, as part of the long-standing dispute with Durham (p 84). It is not clear whether St Andrews controlled Coldingham before this time. The site of Ayton has been suggested as the possible site of a pre-Anglian lesser centre and it was the site of a church and priest by 1127 (p 92) and became the centre of a parish in later Medieval times. The other parish within the lands of Coldingham was of Aldcambus, one of the twelve vills which were mentioned in the Charter. It has been suggested above (p 41) that it was associated with some important landing-places and was the site of another lesser centre in the Coldingham lands (p 41). This is supported by the fact that a coin-

hoard of early tenth century date was found there, which might indicate wealth, or even trade, existing there around that particular period (Graham-Campbell.1976.118-9). A "hog-back" grave-marker of early eleventh century type lay within the burial-ground at Aldcambus (Lang.1974. 218-9), which showed that there was a burial-ground there before the early eleventh century. Though this section assumes that these places became especially important after the sack of the nunnery on Kirk Hill, the probability is that they retained their pre-Northumbrian importance through the time of the Anglian occupation.

This section assumes much about the evidence for the double monastery of Colodaesbyrig, the related native communities and their religious or funerary remains. It might seem rather rash to reconstruct a small Northumbrian chapel from an arc of much-disturbed foundation-cobbles or see some kind of correlation between the remains of the chapel of St Ebba, on Kirk Hill and the church of the monastery. As with the comparison which could be made on the grounds of similar sizes, between the chapel, the chapel of St Cuthbert at Melrose and the probable "cathedral" at Abercorn (Fig 7.7), there are similarities in size which give some basis for conjecture, but only that. The evidence in this section and in the sixth chapter, for Coldingham and its lands and communities show the strong connection between the secular and the religious aspects of the land and the way that evidence concerning the religious or Christian remains can aid the interpretation of the secular

remains. The fact is that, for Coldingham, Colodaesbyrig and the land within the natural boundaries of the Pease Burn and Eye gorges, the old road over Bunkle Edge and the Eye-White Adder watershed, there is more than enough evidence to encourage a study of the land from Late Prehistoric until later Medieval times in its own right.

III Abercorn: Aebbercurnig

The exact date of the foundation of the monastery is not known, though Cowan and Easson have suggested a date soon after the Anglian capture of Edinburgh in 638 (Cowan and Easson.1976.46). Bede states that Trumuine was consecrated "to be bishop of those Picts who were then subject to English rule" (H E IV.12) and that Abercorn had been the site of his cathedra or principal seat (H E IV.26). Trumuine was obliged to flee to Whitby after the disastrous battle of Nectanesmere in 685, though Bede refers to Aebbercurnig as surviving to the time of his writing of the Historia Ecclesiastica in the early eighth century (H E I.12). It is mentioned in the odd list of the possessions of Lindisfarne in the Historia Regum as "Eoricorn to the west of Edinburgh" (p 76) which implies that the monastery continued to exist in some form, up to the ninth or tenth centuries, at least.

The site of Aebbercurnig is on a spur of land by the confluence of the Cornie and Midhope Burns, just south of the site of Abercorn Castle, which lay on the other side of the Cornie Burn (Fig 7.13). It has been suggested

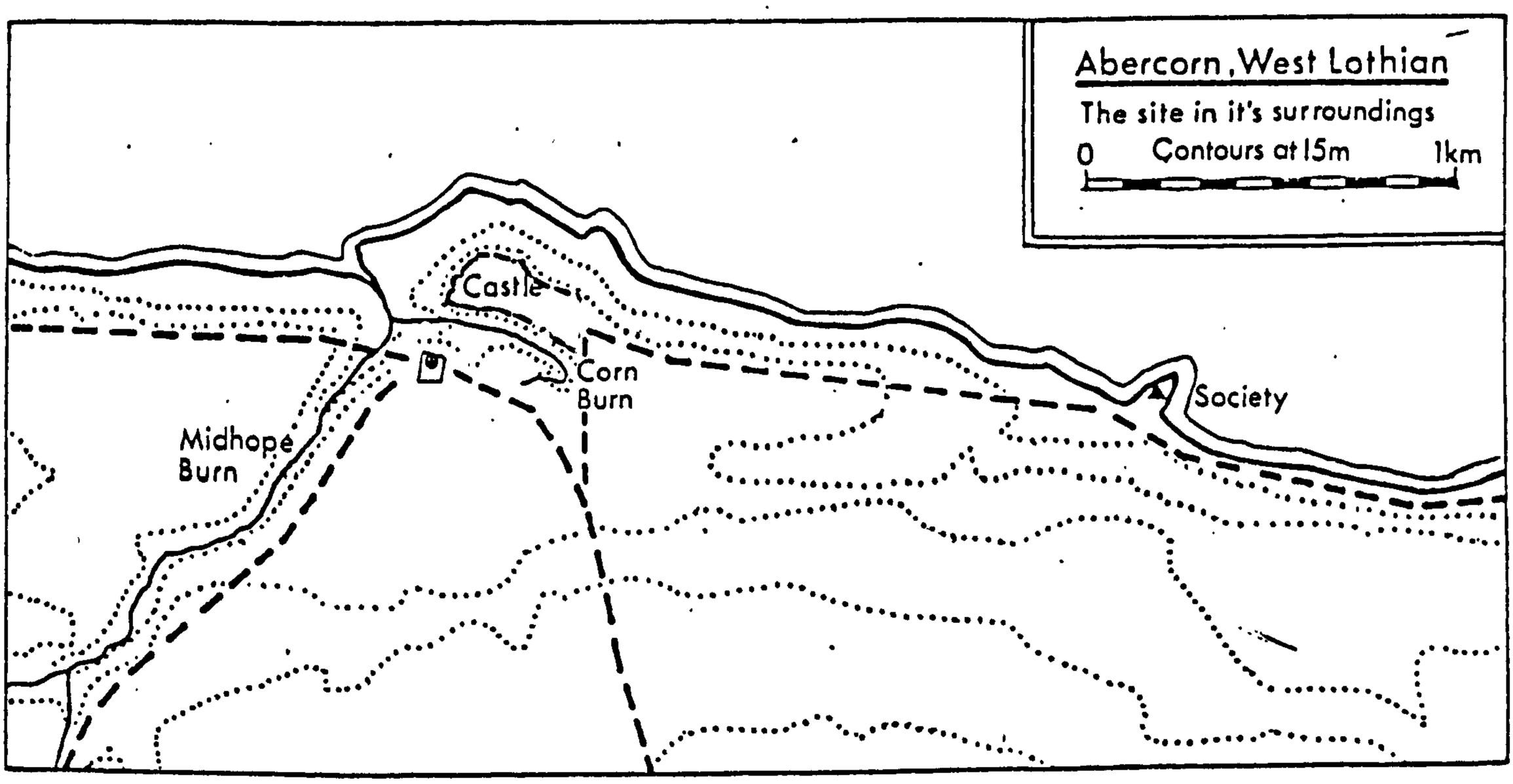
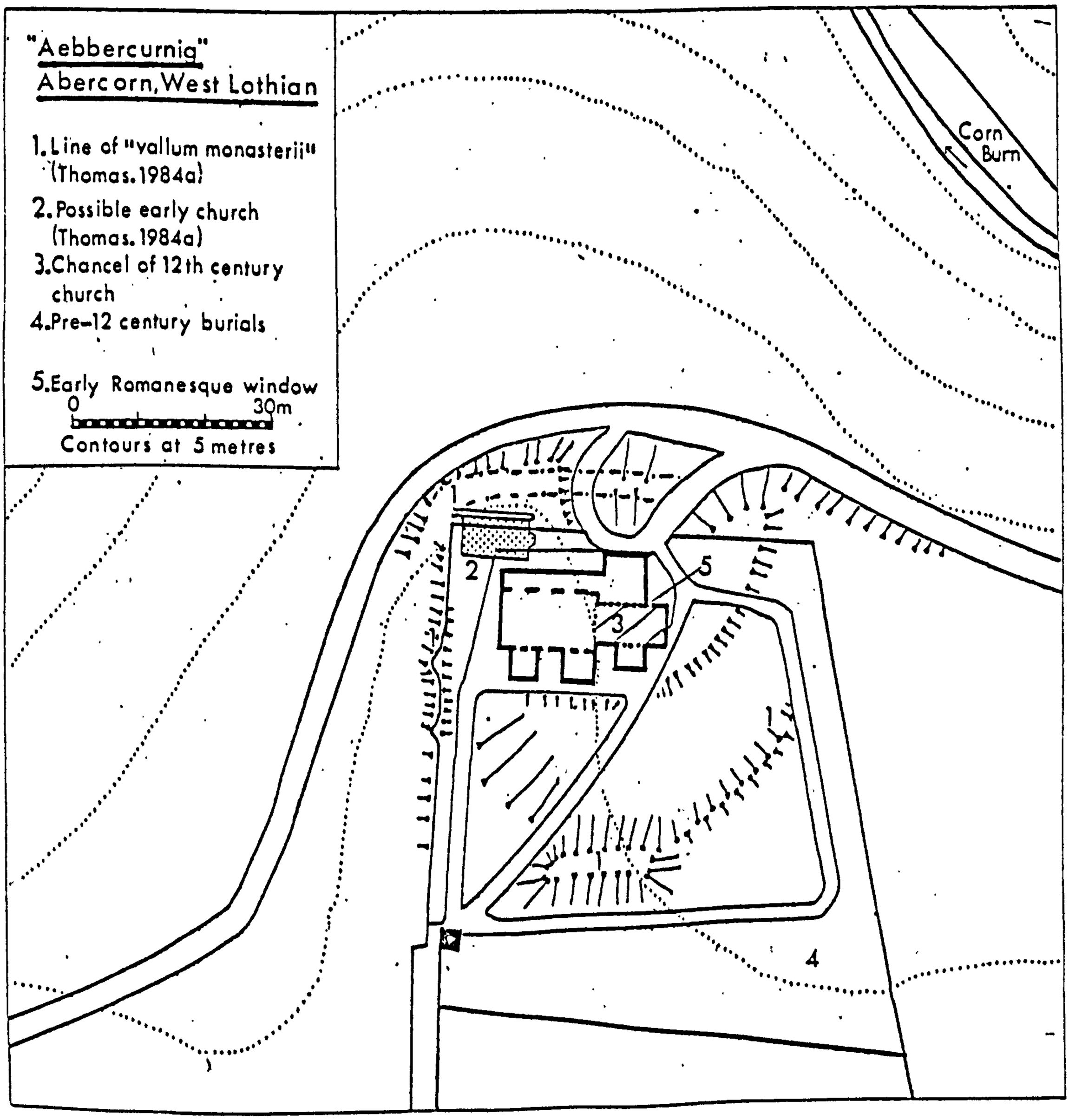

Abercorn, West Lothian
The site in it's surroundings
0 Contours at 15m 1km
Castle
Corn Burn
Midhope Burn
Society

Figure 7.14


"Aebbercurnig"
Abercorn, West Lothian
1. Line of "vallum monasterii" (Thomas. 1984a)
2. Possible early church (Thomas. 1984a)
3. Chancel of 12th century church
4. Pre-12 century burials
5. Early Romanesque window
0 30m
Contours at 5 metres
Corn Burn
1
2
3
4
5

above (pp 183-184) that this site, a possible British place of importance, both economic and tribal, was the main reason for the siting of the monastery. This suggestion was made without any reliable evidence, only on the basis of the site's position exactly half-way between the mouths of the Almond and Avon rivers and in relation to the parishes of Kinneil and Carriden and Dalmeny, which assumed their incorporating early Medieval territorial arrangements. The distribution of long-cist cemeteries implied that the main concentration of the population, in the Lothians west of Edinburgh, was by the coast and north of what is now Linlithgow (Fig I.16). The probability is that Abercorn was deliberately sited so as to take advantage of the pre-Anglian British territorial and economic arrangements, though the record of these has not survived. It could be suggested that these arrangements and the relationship of Aebbercurnig with them might have been disrupted by the flight of Trumuine in 685 and the possible abandonment of the site. Nevertheless, the recorded evidence is for either reoccupation or continued use of the site up to the ninth or tenth centuries, though it does not seem to have retained its importance.

Excavation by Thomas in 1964 and 1965, was of a very small part of the possible site of the monastery and showed just how disturbed the occupation-deposits were. They did reveal the traces of a sub-oval enclosure, possibly originally 60 by 60 metres in area, with a drystone vallum monasterii , almost four metres wide, around the same

enclosure (Thomas.1984a.333-6) (Fig 7.14). What is probably a surviving stretch of the same structure can be seen in the south-east part of the later graveyard of Abercorn church. The wall of the same graveyard sits on a definite bank, to the west of the later church and erosion of this bank, for the eighteenth century coach-drive has made necessary the construction of several retaining-structures at that point on the wall, which could show the easily-eroded drystone structure underneath, of the vallum monasterii . Within the north-west corner of the enclosure, Thomas located a straight flat-bottomed trench which he interpreted as a "sleeper-trench" for a timber building. This appeared to have been "at least 10 by 7 metres" with a possible "shallow eastern apse" (Thomas.1984, 336; Fig 19.6) (Fig 7.7, 14). The walls of this building appear to have laid on the bedrock, with stone-packing around the bottom for support for the east and west walls. The full extent of this structure has not been excavated and much of the plan is inferred. It also lies rather close to the possible vallum monasterii, which might seem to be an odd position for an important building, which might have been the cathedral of Trumuine. Until more of the area within the possible boundary of the monastery has been excavated, Thomas's identifications lack support from other evidence.

There is a lack of support for his identification of some sherds of pottery, which turned up in the excavation, as "imported post-Roman class 'E' pottery". The continued use of the site of Abercorn for religious purposes, such as burial, means that much of the land within the monastic

boundary is lost to investigation, so Thomas's excavations are particularly important. The age or significance of the pronounced mound which seems to lie at the southern end of the enclosure is not known, Nor the date of the deep burials which were found by the grave-diggers in the south-east corner of the later graveyard, where no burials are recorded since late Medieval times (Fig 7.14) (ex inf the gravediggers, 1981).

The other pieces of evidence for the Anglian presence at this site are the fragments of crosses and Northumbrian sculptured stones which reside, at present, in a rather dark room below the lords loft, in the vestry beside the church. Though there are plans to resite these in better surroundings, these have not been carried out. Thus, the fragments remain difficult to study and have been neglected by some authorities. The most important of these was broken up and built into the now demolished bridge across the Midhope Burn, by Midhope Castle, so that only three parts of this eighth or ninth century cross survive (Fig III.14). Stevenson has remarked on the probable dating of this example (Stevenson.1959.47), though it has been reconstructed and shown to have stood over 4 metres in height (Calder.1938) (Fig III.14). The three fragments are particularly difficult to photograph, which is why Calder's photograph is reproduced in this study (Fig III. 14). Stevenson has also dated the two other cross-fragments to the tenth century, since they resemble two cross-fragments which were found at St Andrews (Stevenson.1959.

47) (Figs III.15, 16). There is also what seems to have been an unfinished grave-marker, with some interlace on the side (Fig III.17). In spite of Fisher's photography, this stone, like the second cross-fragment from Coldingham, has escaped the attention of many authorities, so that it can only be provisionally dated to the tenth century.

In his paper on the excavations at Abercorn, Thomas has proposed that Aebbercurnig was the site of the see for the Lothians and not specifically that for the Picts (Thomas.1984.337). It was only because the Picts were under Anglian control at the time that Trumuine was in such a position in relation to them. The origins of the monasteries at Old Melrose and Kirk Hill, which were established at dates similar to that at Abercorn, would seem to have been in relation to the arrangements which had existed in pre-Anglian times and Thomas has argued for the same with regard to Aebbercurnig (1971.17). Though these arrangements are not readily traceable, the position of the monastery in relation to the site of the later Medieval Abercorn Castle raises Cramp's point about the "twinning" of an "early monastic site" with "important secular settlements" (Cramp.1983.278), though this latter place has not been proved to have been an "important secular settlement" in the early Medieval period. The enclosure of Aebbercurnig, of around 0.28 hectares, is much smaller than that of 20 hectares at Old Melrose and that of 3 hectares on Kirk Hill, though the possibility of more than one phase of building at the site should not be ruled out. It is diffi-

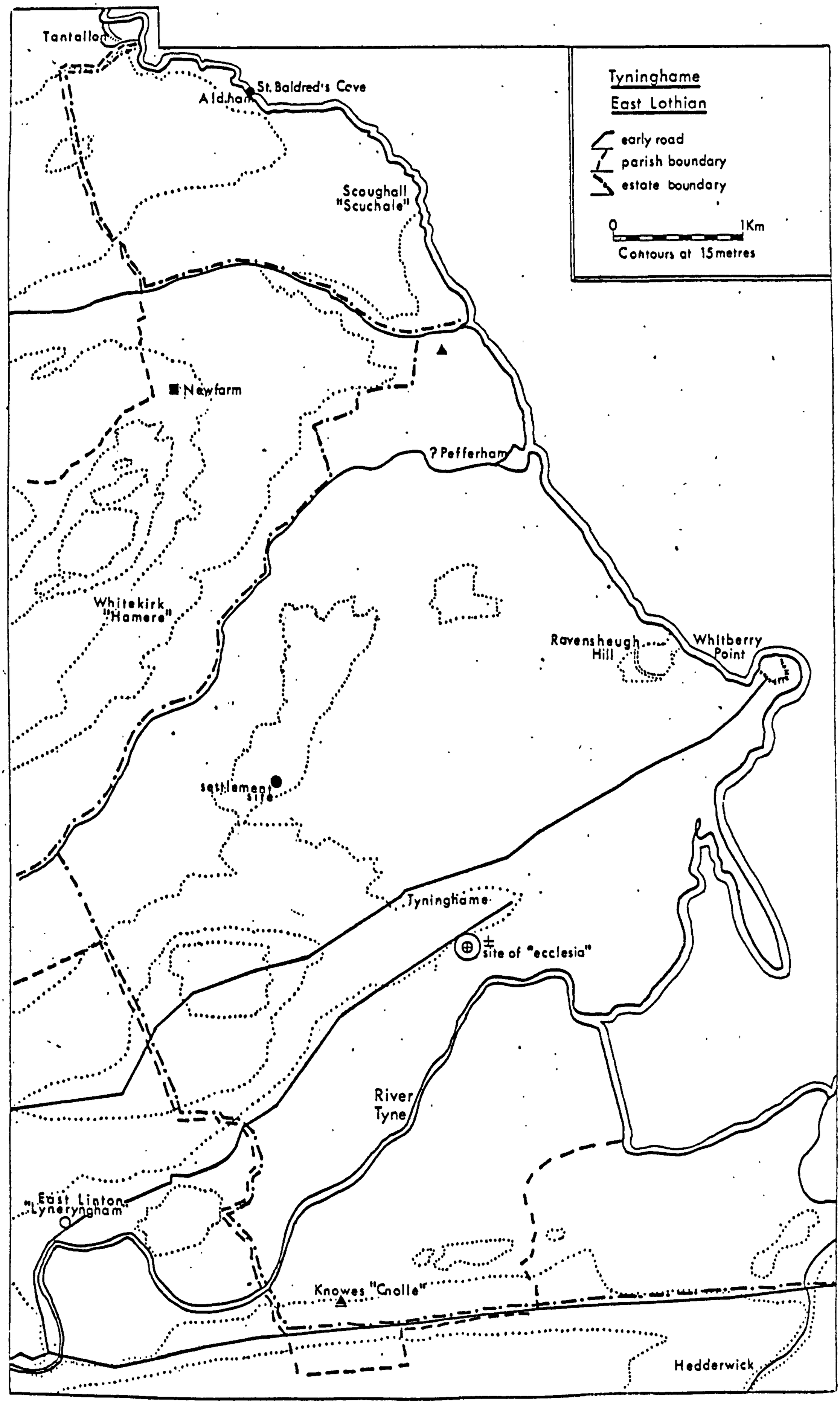
cult to come to any reasonable conclusions about the origins of this monastic establishment, its structures and related sites. It must have been an important place before or during the Anglian control of the Lothians west of Edinburgh, or was associated with such a place. That much is definite or it would not have been chosen for the seat of a bishop.

Its role and state after the reassertion of Anglian control west of Edinburgh is not known though the earliest cross shows that it must have had some local importance, at least, in the eighth or ninth centuries. The two other fragments of crosses, with their apparent similarities with the carved stones from Kinnrimont-St Andrews, show that the site retained its importance after the Scottish takeover of the Lothians. This is supported by the presence of two "hog-back" grave-markers, one of eleventh and another of twelfth century date, in the graveyard (Lang.1974.222). Though there is no record of a landing-place which was used in early Medieval times, near Abercorn, the place and the later crosses could be seen as indications of cultural influences and developments within the Forth and its shores. This would have been aided by the fact that the holders of overlordship in the Lothians were also the same as in the land north of the Forth, the Scots. There is no known written evidence to suggest that it was in the control of a Scottish abbey or see before the twelfth century. This is unfortunate, since such a record of possession might explain the presence of the two late crosses there and the

presence of an odd, blocked Romanesque arch, 2.39 metres up on the north side of the chancel of the twelfth century church (RCAHMS.1929.180). This was possibly 1.2 metres wide and of the same height, with the arch carved out of a single block of stone and without any decoration, so that it does not resemble the windows of any other twelfth century churches in West Lothian. The stonework of the chancel is too similar to that of the nave to suggest that the two were built at separate times. However, it is equally possible that, as at the Hirsel, the chancel was the site of the pre-twelfth century church and when the church was rebuilt, some of the stones from the older church were built into it. This is speculation and there is no other evidence to support this, though, as with the example of Bunkle, which has been discussed above (p 369) this emphasises the need for "above-ground excavation", with churches such as that at Abercorn, where there is the possibility of surviving pre-twelfth century remains, as has been done in England. Clearly, study of the pre-twelfth century remains at or around Abercorn has only begun, the considerable importance of the place during and after the time of the Anglian occupation requires much more attention from authorities.

IV Tyninghame

The first mention of this place is in the Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis , which is attributed to Simeon Dunelmensis and in the later Annales Lindisfarnensis ,


Tyninghame
East Lothian
early road
parish boundary
estate boundary
0
1Km
Contours at 15 metres
Tantallon
St. Baldred's Cave
Aldham
Scoughall
"Scuchale"
Newfarm
? Pefferham
Whitekirk
"Hamere"
Ravensheugh
Hill
Whitberry
Point
settlement
site
Tyninghame
site of "ecclesia"
River
Tyne
East Linton
"Lyneryngham"
Knowes "Cnolle"
Hedderwick

for the year 756, "Baldred the anchorite died in Tinningaham" (Pertz G H 1886.505). Few details are known of this particular saint, apart from a brief mention by Alcuin, in his poem on the saints of the churches of York, which reveals no significant details of his life or surroundings. A cave which lies just to the south-east of Aldhame (NT 604-58438) (Fig 7.15), has become known as "St Baldred's Cave", though no evidence for occupation of the cave during the early Medieval period has been identified, nor any evidence for later veneration of the place or its vicinity. Skene has recorded a tradition that, after his death, the body of Baldred was triplicated, so that the churches at Tyninghame, East Linton and Aldhame could benefit from the pilgrimages (Skene.1890.II.223). The other mention of the place is in the 'Historia Regum', which is attributed to 'Simeon Dunelmensis', under the year 941: "Anlaf (of Dublin) sacked the church of St Baldred and burnt 'Tinningaham'" (Anderson A O 1908.73). The place also attracted the attention of "Elfred filius Westou" in the early eleventh century, who removed the relics of St Baldred to Durham.

The reference to the activities of Anlaf of Dublin shows that the monastery of St Baldred, the 'ecclesia', was directly associated with the settlements of Tyningham. The problem is that neither have been satisfactorily located, though the monastery was probably at or near the later Medieval church of St Baldred, which became the focus of the later settlement, which later shifted to beside the road to Whitekirk, one kilometre to the west. When the

church was demolished in 1937, a fragment of a late Northumbrian cross was found built into the tower (Fig III.18). Stevenson has dated this to the late ninth or tenth century and well within the Northumbrian styles of sculpture, though the "angel" figure is not paralleled by any sculptures which are known in the Tweed-Forth area (1959.46-7). The records and notes which were kept by J Richardson, when he oversaw the clearing-out and reconstitution of the remains of the twelfth century church of St Baldred, before 1920, seem to have been lost. So it is not possible to say whether the first Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Scotland made any discoveries of evidence which might aid the location of the ecclesia of St Baldred. Field-walking in the vicinity of the church by the author, in 1983, only located pottery of twelfth century and later date, probably from the later village. There is no evidence which would associate the structures on Ravensheugh Hill or those on Whitberry Point, with the monastery (p 320).

The fact that the monastery was established at a place with an ingaham -element, has been commented on above, especially with its implication of some degree of organisation (p 124). There is also the fact that it was recorded as having "all the land from Lammermuir to Eskmouth" according to the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 74). This land-block has been discussed above as probably being related to the urbs regis which existed at Dunbar, (p 259) (Fig I.9) thus making it another example of the

"twinning" of an "early monastic site" with "important secular settlements" (Cramp.1983.278). There is also the apparent relationship between the vills , which are mentioned in the 1094 charter of Duncan II and the later parish and property-boundaries and the major long-cist cemetery at Knowes (pp 81 - 82). It was concluded that the list of vills more probably resembled than faithfully reproduced the dependent settlements of Tyninghame (p 320). However, these seemed to support the implication that Tyninghame was a lesser centre within the Dunbar-centred land-block, a most suitable site for a monastery. The "twinning" explains Tyninghame's claim to be related to "all the land from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth".

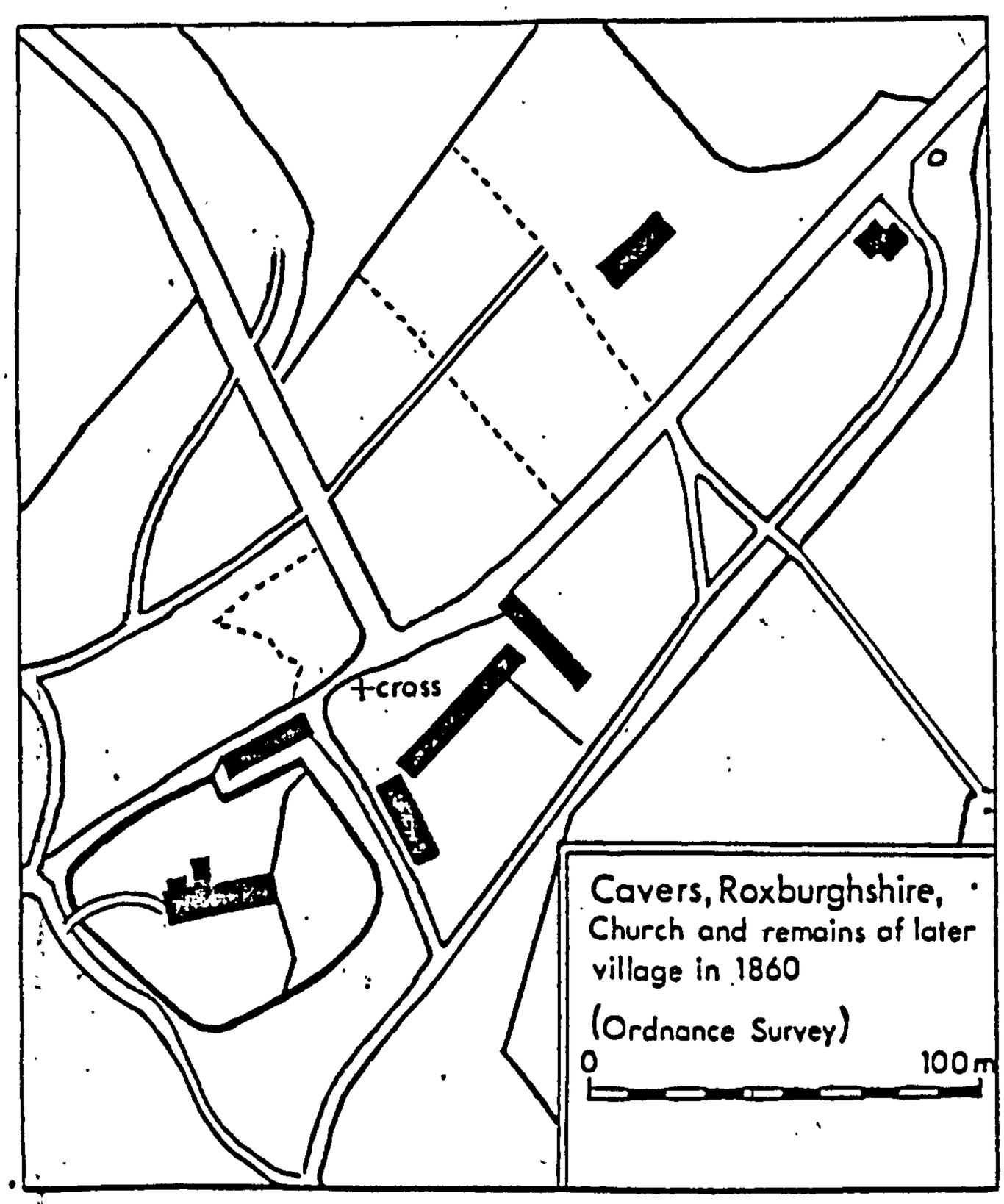
There is no evidence to allow any conjectures to be made on the importance or size of the monastery, since it might have consisted of no more than a single church and a few associated buildings, if there was more than one. It need not have been a place of the size and prestige of Mailros or Colodaesbyrig and could have functioned as the mother-church for the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" land-block, with extra importance through its association with a saint. The lack of any evidence for organised Christianity in this part of the Lothians, such as a definite eglwys -element place-name, or an Early Christian Inscribed Memorial Stone, could explain the church at Tyninghame, the ecclesia as the natural result of developments from pre-Anglian times. The dedication of the now lost church at Aldhame to St Baldred (MacKinlay.

1910.19) can be explained by its recorded origin as a 'vill' of Tyninghame. With the church at East Linton or Lyneryngham , which was also dedicated to St Baldred (Ibid.20) (Fig 7.16) it is less easy to see an association with Tyninghame, partly because the former had a possible ingaham -element place like Tyninghame and mainly because there is no evidence that the actual church was founded before the twelfth century. The situation of this church upon a pronounced mound beside the East Linton Tyninghame road and near "St Baldred's Well" (NT 59357780) (Fig 7.16), suggests that it might have originated as a local meeting-place, possibly of pre-Anglian origin. This meeting-place would explain the 'ingaham' -element in the original place-name of Lyneringham : the place as a focus for several, associated settlements, where there might have been a chapel or even a cross before the twelfth century, or when the church was built there.

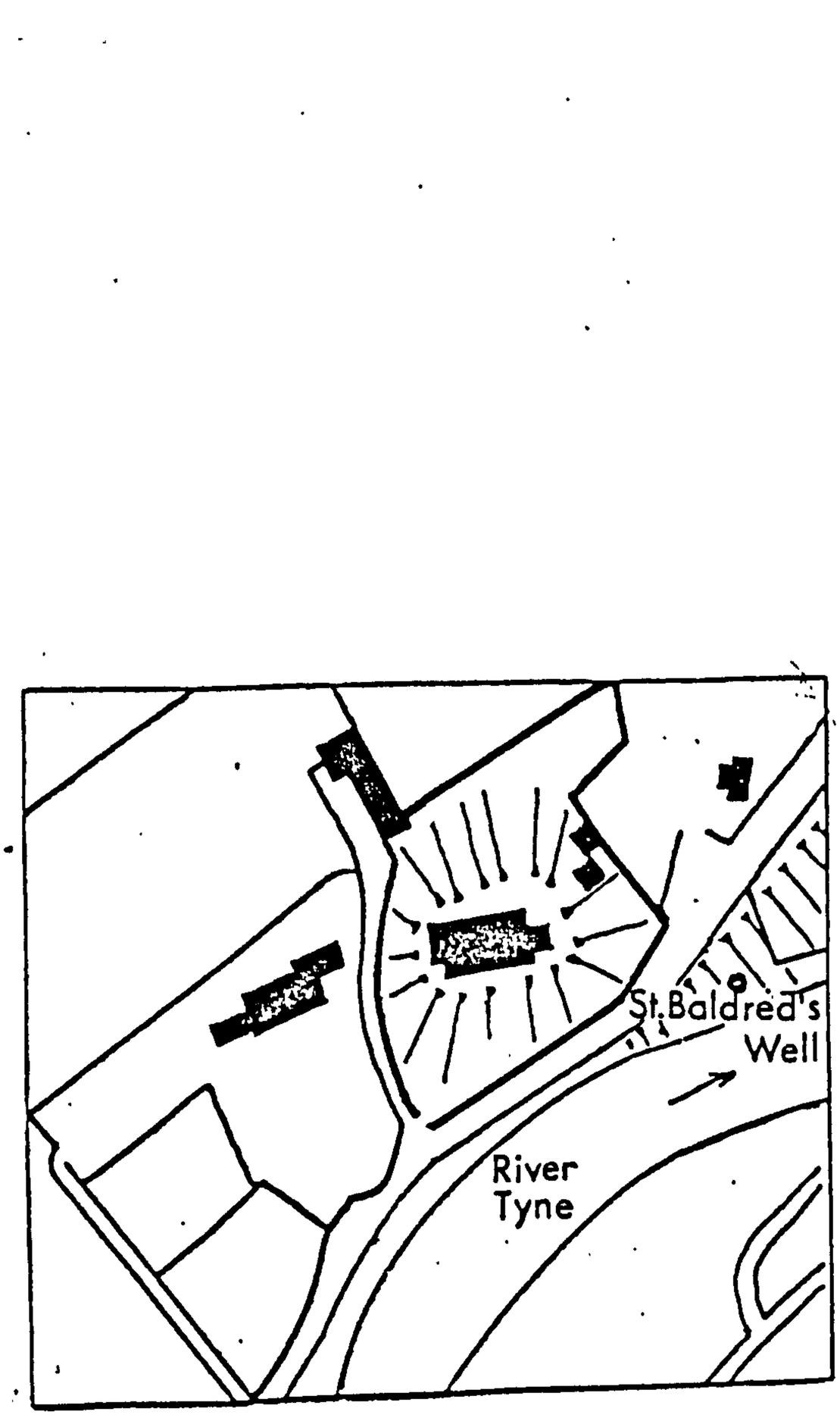
The discovery of a "hog-back" grave-marker of late tenth century date, which exhibits significant Viking influences, at Kirklandhill, which is just under a kilometre east of the major long-cist cemetery at Knowes, could imply the existence of a cemetery there of tenth century or later date, as is implied by the place-name. However, it could have been moved from Tyninghame (Stevenson.1959.47-9; Lang.1974.209-10) and this emphasises the need to understand the developments in the vicinity in the time after the disruption of the ninth and tenth centuries. There is also the matter of settle-

ment by people of Scandinavian or Viking origin in the Tweed-Forth area, the people who might have carved and provided a demand for and carving of such objects as the "hog-back", for which no trace has been identified in the vicinity.

For the "monastery" of St Baldred at Tyninghame, the evidence for its existence and basic history is good. However, for its location, size and structures, the evidence is not good, indeed it could be asked whether it was actually a monastery. The evidence for it having been the unsuccessful mother-church for the land-block is equally slight and there is no reason why a monastery could not have functioned as that as well, as seems to have been the case with the other monasteries in the Tweed-Forth area. The charter of Duncan might not be a truly reliable source of the territorial arrangements of Tyninghame, but if it is taken with the other written sources and the distribution of long-cist cemeteries, it can aid the tracing of the development of the place and the territorial developments, during and after the Anglian occupation. The later association with the see of Kinnrimont-St Andrews, as at Coldingham is shown by the documentation and its belonging to the see until the Reformation (Cowan.1967.203). The place and its relationship with the land around it exhibit similar patterns to what has been concluded for the monasteries of Mailros and Colodaesbyrig which is only natural. It does not prove that Tyninghame was the equal of either of these, not least since this place was estab-



East Linton, East Lothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)



lished at a later date.

V Jedburgh: Gedwearde

There is only one mention of this place, in a pre-Scottish Northumbrian written source, in the Historia de S. Cuthberto , when it records the transferring of "Gedwearde and the other Gedwearde", along with lands south of the Teviot, by Bishop Ecgred, to the monastery of Lindisfarne (p 75). Though the same source referred to a church being built there by the bishop or a predecessor, there is other written proof that there was one there by 1080 (RCAHMS.1956.194). The apparent pre-Anglian importance of the place, especially through its position on the routes along and around the Jed Water valley and implied by the possible long-cist cemetery there has been discussed above (p $\frac{224}{297}$). The situation of the worth -element place-name there provides further proof of the Angles taking over British arrangements and places of importance.

Excavation of the site of the later Jedburgh Abbey in 1984, by J H Lewis and G J Ewart, showed that the construction of the Abbey had removed most traces of earlier buildings (Pers.Comm.1985). The excavators remarked on the probability of a church or chapel preceding the Abbey, though it might have stood on a slightly different site. They were most critical of the excavation techniques of the first excavators on the site in 1936-7 and were not able to find some of the remains which the latter had claimed to have

identified. The existence of a church, of possibly post-Anglian date, at a local centre and not far from a possible long-cist cemetery, would seem to parallel the possible arrangements at Coldingham (p 226) and at Cowpits by Inveresk (p 226).

The only real and datable remains of Anglian date which have been found at Jedburgh are the cross-fragments which reside in the Abbey Museum and have been found in the vicinity of the Abbey itself. These have been the subject of an authoritative study by Cramp, who has dated the earliest fragment (Fig III.1) to the later eighth century (Cramp. 1983.269-71) (Fig III.22). She has dated the one arm and central boss of a cross-head which was originally 0.61 metres wide, to the early hinth century, since it bears comparison with cross-fragments from Iona and Northallerton in Yorkshire (Cramp.1983.270-3). Of a similar date but not necessarily part of the same monument, is a cross-base which formerly stood on the "Bongate" street, on the opposite side of the Jed Water to the situation of the Abbey (RCAHMS. 1956.222). Cramp has remarked that the carvings on this "show both Pictish and Mercian Anglian influences....and could well be seen as an introductory stage in the absorption of Anglian motifs into Picto/Scottish art of the ninth century" (Cramp.1983.269-70) (Fig III.23). There is also part of another cross-shaft, which resembles one from Norham and is of late ninth or early tenth century date (Cramp.1983.276) (Fig III.24). Two fragments of possibly two other tenth century crosses seem to have been incorp-

orated in the shrine of Bishop John of Glasgow (Cramp. 1983.283-4) (Figs III.25, 6). As Cramp has pointed out, the two sides are depicted as separate cross-fragments in Allen's book (1903 [illegible] III.208) and Stuart's work (1867. Pl.CXVIII). The depiction of the cross in the latter work shows it with a decorated border which is identical to the cross-fragment which was found during the 1984 excavations, in the backfill from the 1936-7 excavations (Lewis. and Ewart.Pers.Comm.1985) (Fig III.27). This would seem to date this fragment to the tenth century as well, though it is not clear whether it was part of another cross or part of the latter of the two crosses. Another fragment of a cross of similar design has been located by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland, as built into a wall of the surviving part of the Abbey (RX/2704).

Of much later date is an arm of a "hammer-head" cross, with cable-mould edging (Fig III.28), which is of Anglo-Danish type and datable to around 1000, indicating contact with Anglo-Scandinavian Yorkshire (Cramp.1983.276). No date is known for the very crude carving which was uncovered by the 1984 excavations, which could have been a depiction of "Christ in majesty" (Fig III.29). The lack of any decoration on one side, the probable back, could indicate that it stood against a wall, possibly within a church or chapel. There is the natural tendency to compare it with one of the "Roods" or depictions of the Crucifixion, which were carved in southern England in the late Anglo-Saxon

period, not long before the Norman Conquest (Taylor H M 1978.III.1056). This does not really date the carving of this object, though the shape of the cross, against which the figure of "Christ in majesty" is carved, with the "expanded terminals", is like the lost cross from Hume (p 366) and the crosses at the ends of the unfinished "Rood" which was found at Kinneil in West Lothian (p 443) (Fig III. 36). There is also the group of five related fragments, probably all from one cross, which had figural panels depicting Scriptural scenes (Fig III.30). The only comparisons which Cramp has been able to find are with some Scoto-Pictish figures, which would indicate the end of Northumbrian Anglian influence and control in the vicinity, in the early eleventh century (Cramp.1983.277-80).

The enigmatic fragment of a tomb-shrine, which was also found at Jedburgh and which Radford has proposed as having originated as the shrine of St Boisil, at Mailros and of early eighth century date (Radford.1955) (Fig III.20), highlights an important matter, the relationship between Jedburgh and the latter monastery. Cramp has pointed out the lack of evidence to prove Radford's suggestion and shown that the other fragment of a shrine-tomb from nearby Ancrum (Fig III.19) was not part of the same structure (Cramp.1983.281). This latter fragment was found in the village of Ancrum, so that it could have come from either the church or had been moved from Jedburgh, the latter being more likely (RCAHMS.1956.247). The problem with the shrine-fragment is that an origin at Mailros , in the early

eighth century is more suitable than an origin at Gedwearde at the same date. One fact that does not seem obvious with the monochrome photography is that the cross-fragment which Cramp has dated as being probably the earliest piece of Anglian sculpture (Fig III.21) is of local red sandstone, while all the others, except the "Christ in majesty", and the shrine-fragment, are of the same creamy yellow sandstone. The implication could be that, after the sack of the monastery of Mailros by the Scots in 841-58, some of the monks from the place, including those capable of stone-carving, moved to the comparatively sheltered site of Gedwearde to escape Scottish raids.

In spite of the obvious economic importance of the site of Jedburgh, it is difficult to see that as the reason why at least ten crosses were carved and set up there. The cross-base from the Bongate would have supported a high-cross which would have been far larger than any of the crosses, the fragments of which have been found in the Tweed-Forth area. The only comparable group of Northumbrian Anglian cross-fragments which is known north or west of the Cheviots is at Hoddom in what is now Dumfriesshire, where at least nine have been identified - and subsequently lost (Radford.1956). There is no known reference to Hoddom in any of the pre-Scottish written records though the discovery of a fragment of a late Anglian crozier suggests that it might have had episcopal associations (Cowan and Easson.1976. 46). The implication of this is that Gedwearde had both

religious and economic importance in the later part of the early Medieval period, which is not recorded but is shown by the corpus of carved stones. Since the stones all belong to the period after the mid-ninth century, the time when Mailros suffered from the Scottish raiding, the conclusion that the stone-masons and some of the Mailros community took refuge at this established centre, would seem to fit. The exception to this is the earliest, red sandstone cross, could have marked the actual site of the centre, like the cross from Gattonside or the examples in the Lothians. Cramp's misgivings about this hypothesis, which Radford put forward to explain the siting of the shrine-fragment, emphasises the lack of actual evidence to support it. It can only be said that it is difficult to explain this remarkable corpus of crosses otherwise. The two hoards of late Anglo-Saxon coins from beside the Bongate and by the Jed, of late tenth and early eleventh century date (Graham-Campbell.1976.128-9), added to by the discovery of a coin of Aethelred II (978-1016) in the 1984 excavations (Lewis and Ewart.Pers.Comm.1985), imply that Gedwearde "was an important centre of exchange on a route from Northumbria to Lothian" (Duncan.1975.464). No evidence has survived or been identified to show what kind of establishment existed at Gedwearde in the tenth and eleventh centuries, apart from a burial-ground and a church of some kind. Lewis and Ewart have emphasised that there is still much land to be examined in the vicinity of the later Abbey, so that there might be some structural remains of the pre-Augustinian church and the

Northumbrian establishment; apart from the fragment of walling and the patches of cobbling which were found just south of the east end of the Abbey Church.

The record of the transferral of the two vills of Gedwearde to Lindisfarne, in the Historia de S. Cuthberto also refers to the associated land-block, which lay on the south side of the Teviot and has been discussed above (pp 295-300). The references in the section on Mailros to the nearby cirice -element place-names of Channelkirk and Selkirk (p 392), raise the matter about the possible relationship between Gedwearde and Hobkirk and Cavers. The former place has already been discussed as the probable centre for the communities in and related to the Rule valley particularly with regard to its position below the large defended settlement on Bonchester Hill (Fig I.5) (p 150). As with Channelkirk, there is a noticeable lack of evidence for pre-twelfth century use of the site of the church at Hobkirk. In the graveyard at Bedrule, which lies 6 kilometres down the Rule valley, two "hog-back" grave-markers have been found, one of late eleventh century date and the other of early twelfth century type (Lang.1974.223). This would seem to date the burial-ground to some time between the collapse of the Lindisfarne-related religious authority and the twelfth century reorganisation. Bedrule lies at the end of one of the routes west of Jedburgh (Fig I.5), which could indicate that the burial-ground came into existence under the influence of pre-Augustinian Jedburgh and

owed its location because it was closer to Jedburgh and the Teviot than Hobkirk. If it were not for these two "hog-back" grave-markers, it could have been suggested that the graveyard at Bedrule was of twelfth century or later date, as is implied by its proximity to the later Medieval castle (Cowan.1967.15).

The later Medieval writer, known as Reginald Dumelmensis , in his mixture of history and myth, Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus , claimed that the church of Cavers existed in 689 and had two chapels, at Adderstonshiels on the Slitrig (NT 517088) and at Northouse further up the Teviot (NT 439078) (Chapters 136-141). In his study of the parish of Cavers, Watson referred to 3 or 4 others, Spittal-on-Rule (NT 588198), Carlanrig (NT 439078) and Priesthaugh (NT 46 049) or Falnash (NT 403035) (Watson G 1946.6). This group of pre-Reformation chapels has been referred to above as possible indications of the survival of the territorial arrangements which provided the basis for the land-block on the south side of the Teviot, into the post-Anglian period (p 398). If this was the case, the parochia of Cavers would have included parts of the later parishes of Bedrule, Hawick and Teviothead, which would be understandable if the latter were later Medieval developments, the results of population growth in the related vicinities. Reginald Dumelmensis was writing in around 1173, so that he was relying on information or traditions which were given to him by Dolfin the priest

of Cavers. The latter was probably a reliable source of local traditions of the church. There is no evidence to suggest another site for the religious centre for the upper Teviot basin or the recorded land-block, so Cavers only becomes the place by default. The possible association with the recorded activity of St Cuthbert in the same vicinity in both of the Lives (p 62) and its apparent origin as the estate of the Bishop of Lindisfarne, according to the Historia de S. Cuthberto (p 75) would seem to make the estate an unusual one.

The site of the church of Cavers is within a sub-oval burial-ground, which is of a size comparable with the other possible developed cemeteries, of Anglian origin, in the Tweed-Forth area (Fig 7.16). If it were not for the information which Reginald Dunelmensis gave in his writings, it could be presumed that this possible "developed cemetery" came into existence in the later ninth or tenth centuries, as at the Hirsel (pp 352-354). If Gedwearde was the centre for the Jed valley and the related communities and Hobkirk was the centre for the Rule Valley and its related communities, Cavers could have been the centre for the upper Teviot basin: or the land south of the river, between the junction of the Teviot and the Rule Water and the "Catrail", the general terrain of the recorded land-block (Fig I.5). No structural remains of a pre-twelfth century date have been identified at Cavers itself, though its position as the probable centre of an episcopal estate could imply the presence of a chapel or a cross, neither

of which have been identified. These late, post-twelfth Century, pieces of evidence are not really satisfactory, since neither Cavers nor Hobkirk are mentioned in the Historia de S. Cuthberto and might have gained their importance or significance at a relatively late date. Jedburgh might have been the centre for Christianity in both the Rule valley and the upper Teviot basin, with clerics being sent to Hobkirk or Cavers for religious activities. Cavers might have acquired its two subsidiary chapels in the twelfth century, before 1173, or they might actually have been of pre-Scottish origin. Though Cavers with its sub-oval churchyard and simple boulder headstones, like at the Hirsel, resembles Mow with its church of possibly pre-Norman origin, the church at Cavers has been subject to much more later alteration, so that it is difficult to speculate about the possible shape or size of the possible pre-Norman church.

Thus, the perennial problems caused by the lack of datable artefacts or structures, leaves the student of the Anglian occupation of South-east Scotland with a series of possibilities and conjectures to be assessed. Even the impressive corpus of cross-fragments from Jedburgh is severely limited in their use by the unstratified nature of their discovery. If Gedwearde was the centre of an episcopal landholding, as seems likely, no trace has been identified of the possible manor or church of the Bishop or his subjects or the carvers of the crosses. There, as at Cavers or Hobkirk, there is still much work to be

done, since so much could have happened or developed in the time between the establishment of Gedwearde and the establishment of the Augustinian abbey there in the twelfth century. As with the other "monasteries" of Anglian Northumbrian origin which have been considered in this section, Gedwearde can be related to territorial arrangements of possibly pre-Anglian British origin and even sites which were important before the Anglian occupation. The way that some patterns and conjectures seem to fit with several sites and various pieces of evidence could indicate similar origins and developments in different parts of the Tweed-Forth area. It could also indicate the fact that much of these patterns and conjectures owe their origins to the author's treatment of the often slight or unreliable pieces of evidence. When the evidence is so patchy or unsatisfactory, the attentions of as many relevant authorities as possible are needed, for the Tweed-Forth area and its probable Early Christian remains. Where these are not available, only these possibilities and conjectures can be put forward and more work recommended.

3) Northumbrian Crosses and Religious Sites

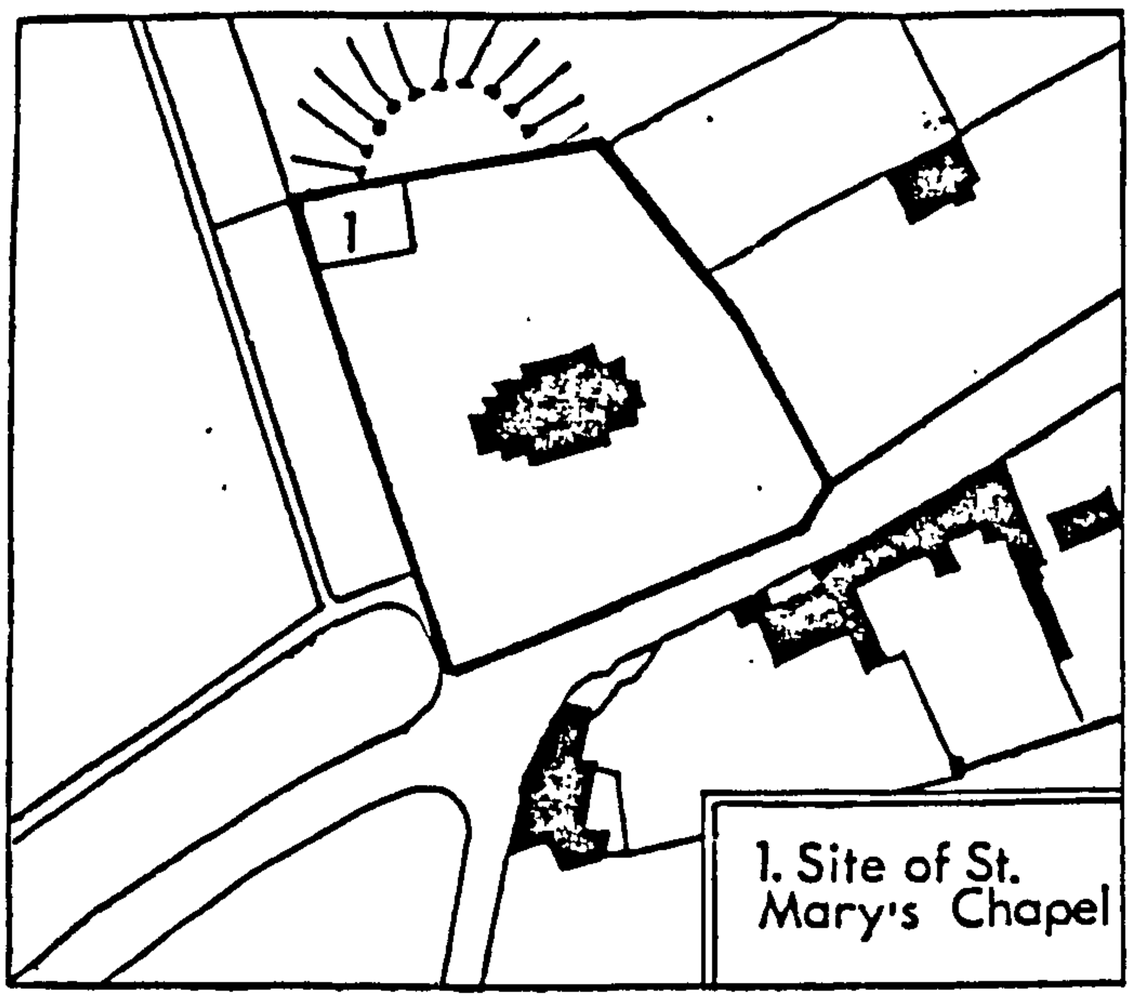
Though the remarkable crop-mark site at Whitmuir-haugh, by Sprouston has not been excavated, one of the most obvious features is that it seems to have been that of a burial-ground with over 120 graves, lying just south of the main concentration of probable timber halls (Fig 5.2). The comparison with Yeavering and the cemetery there which was associated with building B (Hope-Taylor. 1977.73-8), would imply that one of the buildings at Sprouston functioned as a church or chapel, such as "f" though this would need to be shown by excavation. The comparison is inevitably made between this occurrence and the reference in the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert: when he was travelling between the monasteries of Lindisfarne and Old Melrose, he stopped at the villa of "Sibba Ecgfridi comiti" which lay "beside the river called Tweed" (p 62), in order to heal an infirm servant. The link between the activities of the earliest Anglian Northumbrian clerics and the economic or lordship centres has been referred to above, particularly with regard to the negative evidence for churches or chapels in the Tweed-Forth area before the ninth century, except in the monasteries.

In the first section of this chapter, reference was made to the natural tendency of burial-grounds, meeting-places and the sites of churches or chapels to be related to territorial or economic arrangements. This was an aspect which was very evident in the discussions of the relationships

between the recorded Anglian Northumbrian monasteries or ecclesiae and the other evidence for landholdings or estates , which were recorded in pre-Scottish documents. In spite of this recurring pattern of associations, the relationship between a burial-ground and a fragment of a standing cross is not clear. It was suggested that the crosses from Innerleithen and Kirkton of Manor, in the upper Tweed basin, initially marked meeting-places which only later became "developed cemeteries", with a church or chapel (p 362). The example of Gattonside, beside the Tweed near Melrose, where a cross of Anglian Northumbrian type was found but no burial-ground was associated (pp 392-393) shows this; crosses did not always become the sites of "developed cemeteries". There is also the passage in the Hodeporicon of St Willibald, an eighth century native of Wessex prior to his missionary work in Germany: "...in the estates of the nobles and good men of the Saxon Race it was customary to have a cross, which is dedicated to Our Lord and held in great reverence, erected on some prominent spot for the convenience of those who pray daily before it". Though this might refer to a part of England which was more Anglo-Saxon than the Tweed-Forth area, the information is still relevant (Talbot C R 1954.155). The emphasis on "lay patronage" as being responsible for the erection of these crosses is most important, as is the association with estates or territorial arrangements.

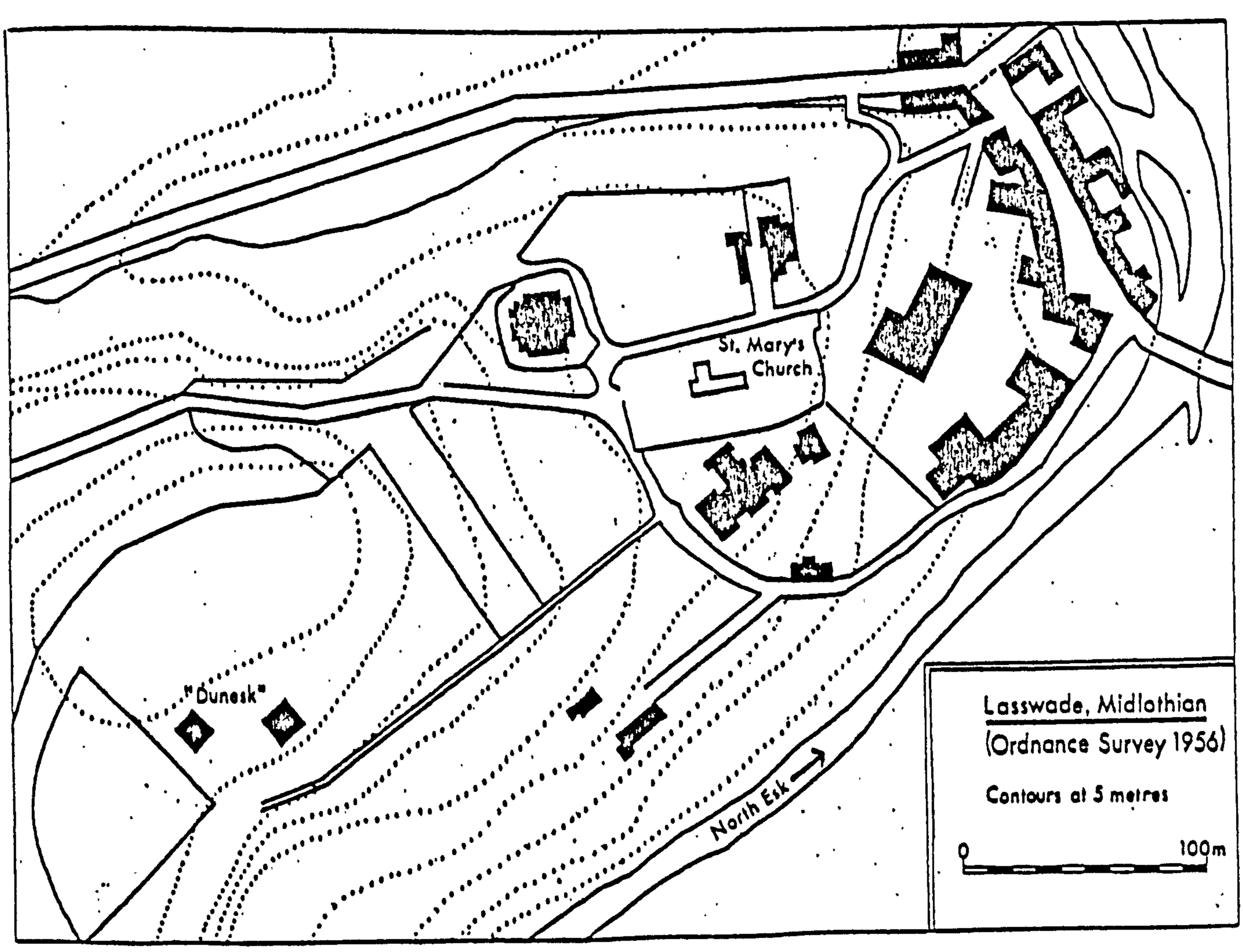
Cramp has remarked that not all the crosses of North-

Figure 7.17



Aberlady
(Ordnance Survey 1893)

Figure 7.18



umbrian workmanship could be explained as related to monasteries, "the extent of lay patronage should not be underestimated" (Cramp.1978.2). It is best to bear this in mind when considering the implications of the three crosses from the Lothians, from Aberlady and Morham in what later became East Lothian and Lasswade from beside the Esk south of Edinburgh. Reference has been made to the former two above (pp 323,326), in the context of the settlements and economy in the Tweed-Forth area. That at Aberlady (Fig 3.31) is the most intriguing since both Cramp (1984.50, 174) and Stevenson (1959.47) have agreed that it is probably of an early date, possibly the eighth century (Wilson.1984.75). The economic importance of Aberlady has also been referred to (pp 324-25), though there is no actual evidence of a church or burial-ground there, prior to a record of the church as a possession of the see of Dunkeld in the thirteenth century (Cowan.1967.3). Nor is there any evidence to suggest that there were any places of pre-Anglian religious importance near the place. The cross-fragment from Morham (Fig III.32) was found, like that at Aberlady, in later building and was clearly of a different style and date: Callendar has dated it to the ninth century and pointed to the resemblances between the leaping animals which are depicted on it and those which are depicted on stones from Yorkshire (Callendar.1933. 242). Cramp has agreed with the general dating of the cross to the eighth-ninth century Northumbrian tradition (Cramp.1984.211). The National Museum of Scotland was

given some beads which were found in two "stone-lined graves" in the graveyard at Morham (Proc.Soc.Antiq.Scot. 1928.165). This is not proof of the existence of a pre-Anglian cemetery, since only two such burials are referred to and they could have been associated with a settlement of later Prehistoric date. The association between an Anglian Northumbrian cross and an early Anglian place-name, that of Morham, seems obvious and it is possible that the cross marked the meeting-place for the related communities of the place. With Aberlady there is the odd fact that the place-name is of apparently pre-Anglian British origin, though Nicolaisen has suggested that it was either a survival or an odd but late creation by British-speakers in the vicinity(1976.164). Thus the cross simply marked a meeting-place for the communities which existed in the vicinity of Aberlady.

Both of those places lay within the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" land-block, which was probably related to the urbs Dynbaer.It could even be suggested that some stone-carvers or masons from one of the monasteries in northern Northumbria were hired to carve the crosses for lay patrons. The cross-fragment which was found during the demolition of the old church at Lasswade (Fig III.33) has been dated to the ninth century as well (Allen.1903 Vol III.424), though it was not in the land-block. The site of the cross was a spur beside the North Esk, where a road crosses the river by a ford which is mentioned in the place-name, "the ford of the pasture" (Dixon.1947.224).

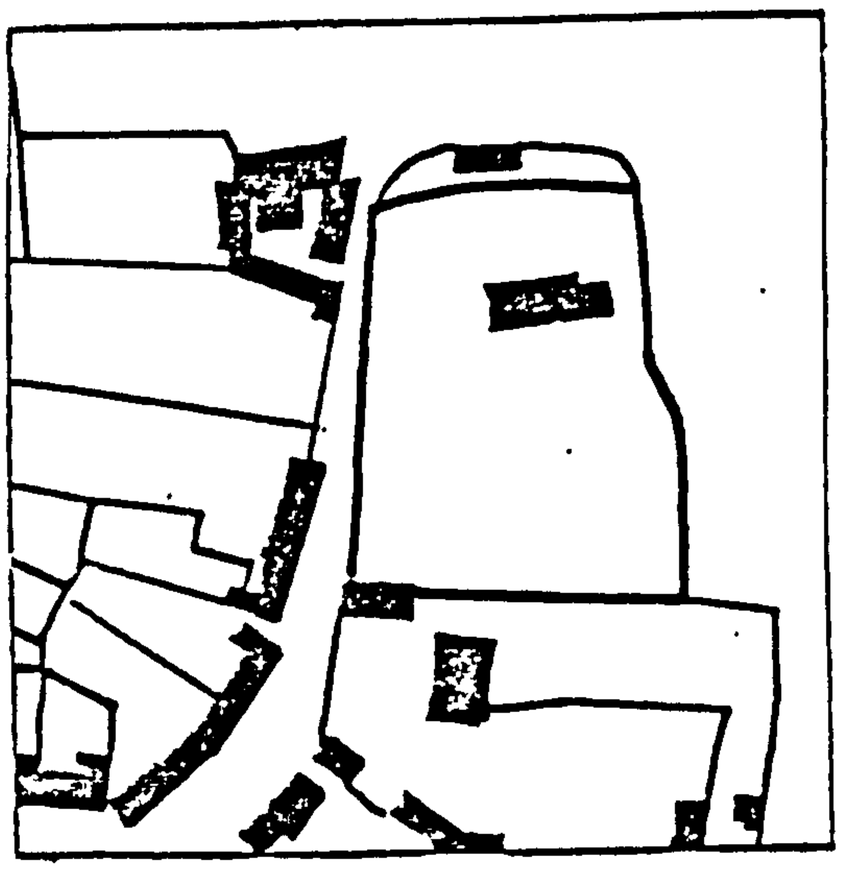
Though only one arm of this cross has survived, it is possible to make at least a partial reconstruction of it (Fig III.33). Henshall has referred to the proximity of the place to the major long-cist cemetery at Parkburn, which lay just over a kilometre to the north (Henshall. 1956.271) and on the same side of the Park Burn (Fig I.12). This marked the boundary for the parishes of Dalkeith and Lasswade with that of Liberton and was suggested above (p 331) to have been a territorial boundary of early Medieval or earlier origin. Thus, the cross can be suggested to have marked a local meeting-place, for both the Anglian settlers in the Esk valley and the native Britons. The church at Lasswade was an important place in later Medieval times, a "mensal church of the see of St Andrews", with chapels at Dalkeith, Glencorse, Pentland and Roslin (Cowan.1967.138). Though it is possible that the importance of the spot, on this spur above the Esk (Fig 7.18) was of pre-Anglian origin, there is no evidence that there was a church or a "developed cemetery" on the site during the Anglian period. That it was probably a meeting-place for the people of the Esk basin south of Inveresk and its associated communities, would have been sufficient reason for its becoming the site of an important church in the later Medieval period.

The most interesting aspect of these three finely-carved cross-fragments is that they all came from the Lothians and not from places which were specifically associated with recorded or probable Northumbrian monasteries,

unlike the cross-fragment which was found at Gattonside by the Tweed and Melrose (p 393). Though this would seem to support Cramp's point about "lay patronage", it also emphasises the differences between the Lothians and the Tweed basin in the time of the Anglian occupation. Nothing which is comparable to these three crosses has been found in the Tweed basin, of the Anglian Northumbrian type. The "trial-piece" which was found at the Hirsel (p 354) (Fig III.2) could contradict this if the cross for which it was a practice carving was found. Similarly, the place-name Corsbie, near Ledgerwood and within the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block, literally meant a "settlement (associated with) a cross" (Williamson.1942. 282) (NT 607442). There is no record of a cross at the place, which lies on a minor route joining the A6089, between Lauder and Kelso, with the main Leader valley route, and is just over a kilometre east of Ledgerwood where there was a church and priest before 1127 (Cowan.1967.129). Since the name is of Scandinavian origin and thus somewhat isolated, it is not really possible to date its formation and it could refer to a cross which was set up at any time between the ninth century and the twelfth.

Nor is it really possible to date the stump of a cross which survives in the graveyard of the church at Sprouston (Fig III.34), just south of the crop-mark site on Whitmuirhaugh Farm. This is because it is devoid of decoration which might aid such interpretation and it is not known when the burial-ground of the crop-mark site ceased

to be used. The lack of Northumbrian crosses in the lower Tweed basin could be a result of the control of the territory by the Church. The three cross-fragments which were found at Carham, by the Tweed and in what is now England, are all of a late date, after the ninth century (Cramp.1984.208-14). This would seem to support Cramp's proposal that, in the light of her excavations at the Hirsel by the Tweed, there was no significant construction of churches or chapels or carving of crosses, in the Tweed basin. This was because of the wide-ranging activities of the clerics from either Lindisfarne or Mailros and the abandonment of Lindisfarne in the later ninth century obliged the local nobles and landowners to make up for the disruption of religious organisation (Cramp.1985). The small chapel which was excavated at the Hirsel, was of ninth century or later date and associated with the burial-ground, which had yielded grave-markers of possibly pre-Anglian style (p 323) (Fig III.1). Though all the ground around the church has not been excavated, it seems to have been associated with an occupation-area which yielded pottery which has been re-dated to the late Anglian period and which Cramp has suggested as the probable site of the residence of the priest (1985). Though it is not clear whether this small estate church was a drystone, mortared or timber construction, because of the incorporation of the foundations in the later church, the pattern of the relationship of a "developed cemetery" with a community of settlements, in the case of the Hirsel



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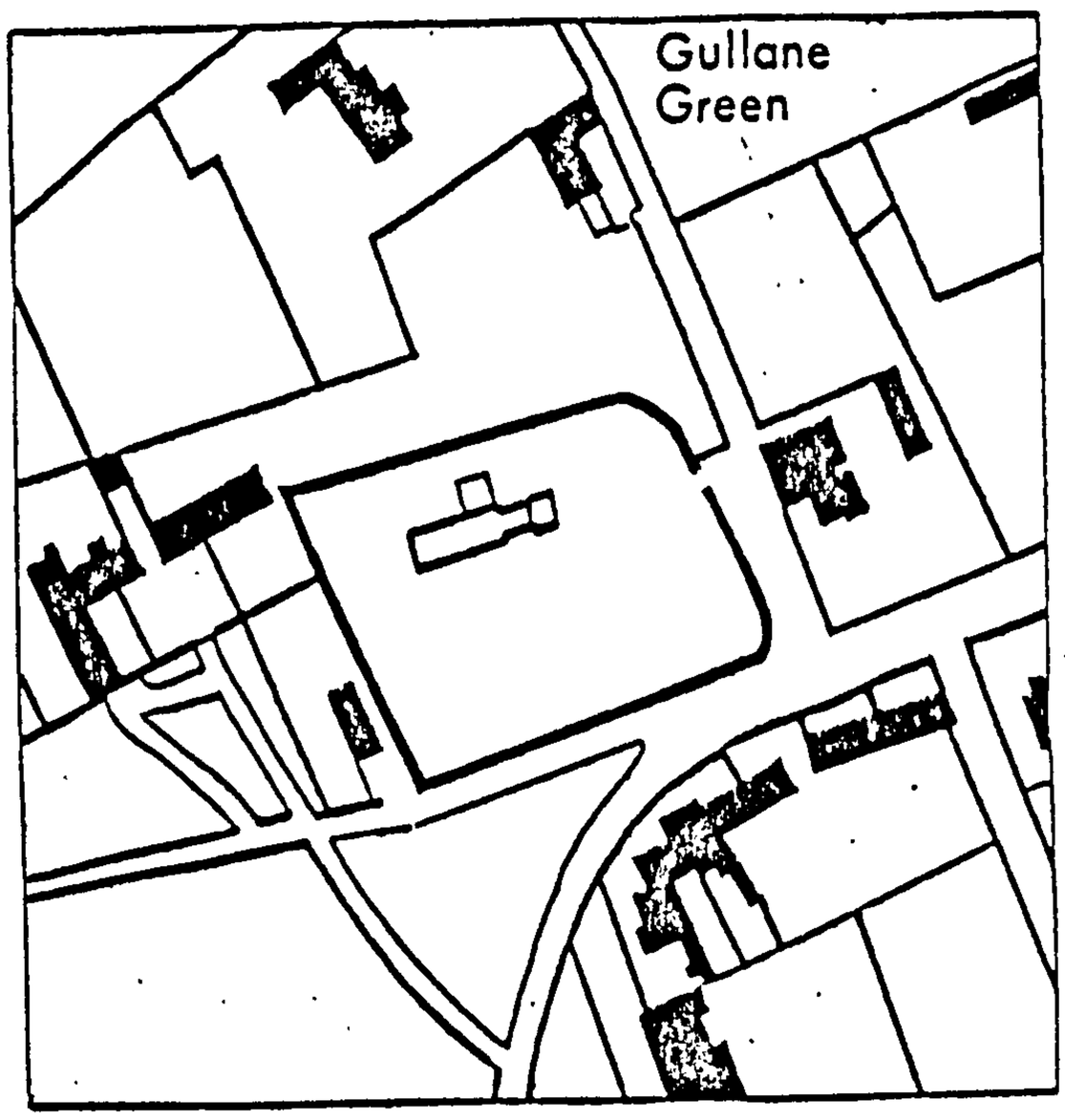
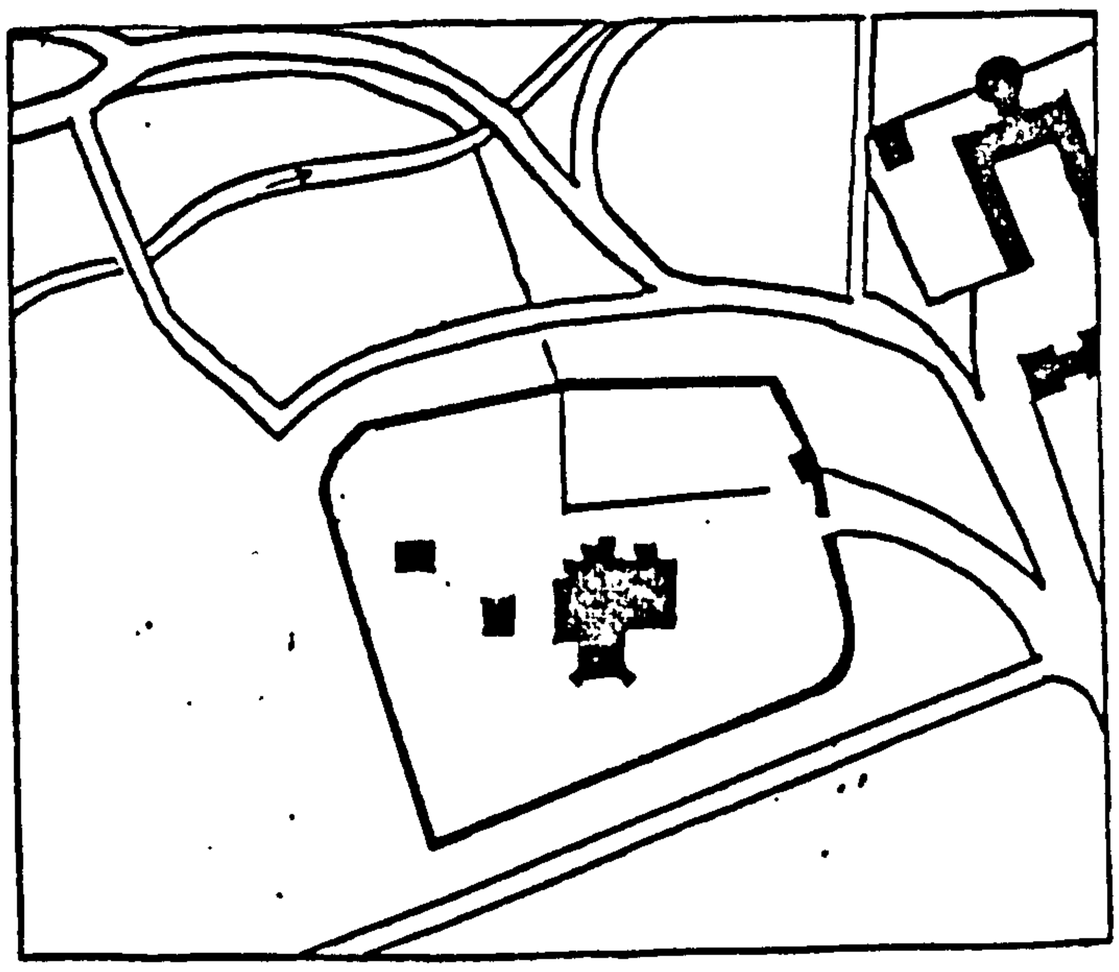
Morebattle, Roxburghshire
(Ordnance Survey 1860)



Gullane, East Lothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)



Edrom, Berwickshire
(Ordnance Survey 1857)

estate , can be seen to recur.

The cemetery at Edrom, by the White Adder, is of interest because of the example of a "hog-back" grave-marker, of early eleventh century type (Lang.1974.224), which implies that there were burials there by the eleventh century. The possibly sub-oval shape of the actual burial-ground (Fig 7.19) implies early origins and the fact that the place had subsidiary chapels at Blackadder, Earlston, Kimmerghame and Nisbet by the mid-twelfth century (Cowan.1967.60). Barrow has commented on the possibility that this indicates the survival of pre-Scottish patterns of organisation; though he also points out the example of Ednam, by the Tweed, with its subsidiary chapels of Newton Nenthorn and Stichill, which developed in the twelfth century since the church at Ednam was not founded until 1103 (Barrow.1973.259). The mention of Edrom in the list of the vills in "Berwick-shire", in the charter of Edgar (p 83) and the Old English nature of the place-name itself (p 116) would seem to support the origin of this possible "developed cemetery" as that of an Anglian community, which might have come into existence in the time after the ninth century disruption of the religious organisation.

Though evidence for pre-Scottish churches and Northumbrian crosses is lacking in this part of the Tweed-Forth area, the examples of possible burial-grounds which are discussed in the first section of this chapter above, like Hume, Fogo and Bunkle would seem to suggest that these

communal burial-places existed in pre-Scottish and possibly during Anglian times. In the absence of datable artefacts or structures, early references in charters or any possible pre-Anglian British burial-places, the only possible inference for an early origin could be the shape of the burial-ground. Simprim has an odd, almost circular one which is also rather small; that at Swinton is not as large as the other possible examples of "developed cemeteries" though it does seem to be of sub-oval shape; that at Lamberton is of possibly partly sub-oval shape. It is also the only church and burial-ground which is recorded in the land between the White Adder and the sea, before the thirteenth century (Cowan.1967.126-8). The burial-ground of the church at Morebattle, which is recorded as existing before 1112 (Cowan.1967.151-2) does not seem to incorporate any traces of a sub-oval cemetery boundary (Fig 7.19). While it is possible that burial-grounds existed at these places during the time of the Anglian occupation, the shape of the present boundaries is not really evidence for this by itself. With the cirice-element place-names, for example, the basic meaning of the element (p 133) shows that the place originated as a meeting-place and this provided the basis for importance. It is interesting to note the lack of evidence for pre-twelfth century churches or chapels at Channelkirk, Ashkirk, Hobkirk or Selkirk; though one nineteenth century authority claimed that "a cross having the appearance of the Early Christian period" (Craig-Brown.1886.233), was

found on the site of the later Medieval parish church at Selkirk - and was subsequently lost. The site of the "developed cemetery" with the possible Anglian chapel and two or three crosses at Coldingham (p 401) might have been slightly exceptional since it was the centre and meeting-place for an estate of land-block which was under religious monastic control and influence. Nevertheless, it does represent another example of the recurring pattern of the relationship between territorial and religious arrangements. Thus, the state of development of a religious or burial site would also be dependent on the size of the associated population, their organisation, or lack of it and the depth of the Christian influence. The fact that Eccles in Berwickshire was a suitable site for a convent in 1145 and had subsidiary chapels at Birgham, Leitholm and Mersington (Cowan and Easson.1976.146) could indicate that these three places and their related settlements maintained their earlier relationship with an eccles. Using it as a common meeting-place for religious activities, while the other settlements in the Tweed-White Adder-Leader land-block had developed their own lesser religious centres. Since much of this discussion is based on limited, negative or late evidence and a single excavated example, the plausibility or suitability of the "model" of parish-origins, when applied to some examples, does not really do more than provide equivocal support for possibilities.

In the Lothians, there are two particular cross-fragments which are worthy of more study than they have received

so far. The first was found during alterations of the manse at Gullane in East Lothian (Fig III.36), the second was found under a later Medieval extension of the twelfth century church at Kinneil in West Lothian (Fig III.25). The first fragment is difficult to date because of the crudity of the decoration and the small size of the fragment itself. Though the zig-zag decoration along the edge could be compared with the Northumbrian crosses which were found at Jarrow (Cramp.1984.1, 109 Fig 12), the central decoration resembles a "biting animal" symbol from a burial slab at Inchinnan in Renfrewshire (Allen.1903.III, Fig 478E). Thus this could date the carving to some time during or after the tenth century, making it further proof of the artistic influences spreading from British Strathclyde, like the stones at Liberton (p 452). The second object is even stranger, since it would seem to have been a copy of a late Anglo-Saxon "Rood" (Hunter.1960) and would also seem not to have been finished. This would also seem to be datable only to some time in the later eleventh or twelfth century and Hunter has suggested that it might have been carved during the time when Margaret of Hungary was married to Malcolm III, between 1069 and 1094, and there might have been renewed Anglian influence in the land around the Firth of Forth (Hunter.1960.194-6). The sheer size of the "rood", almost 2 metres high, would seem to indicate that it was not carved simply to act as a grave-marker or to indicate a meeting-place or

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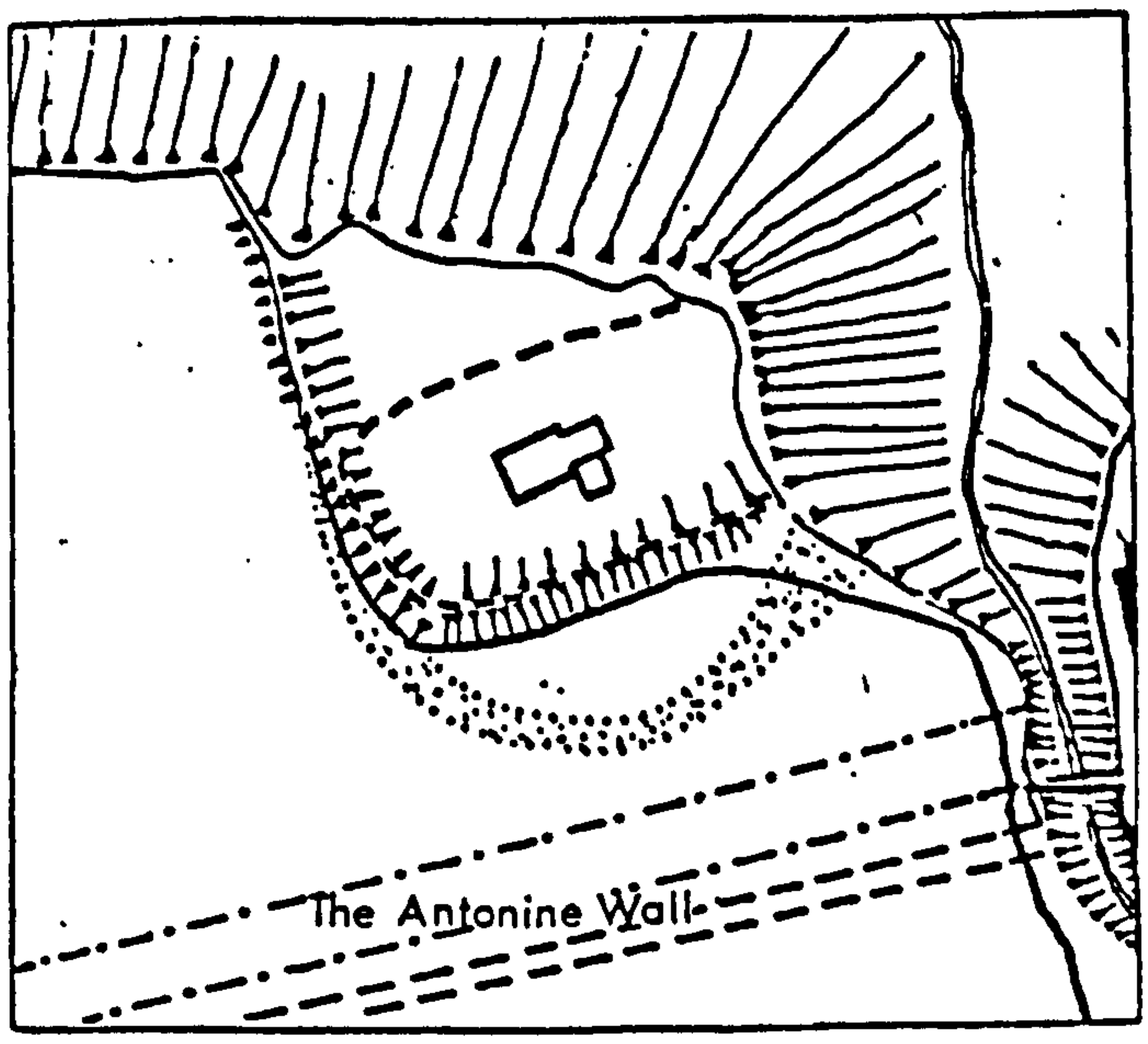

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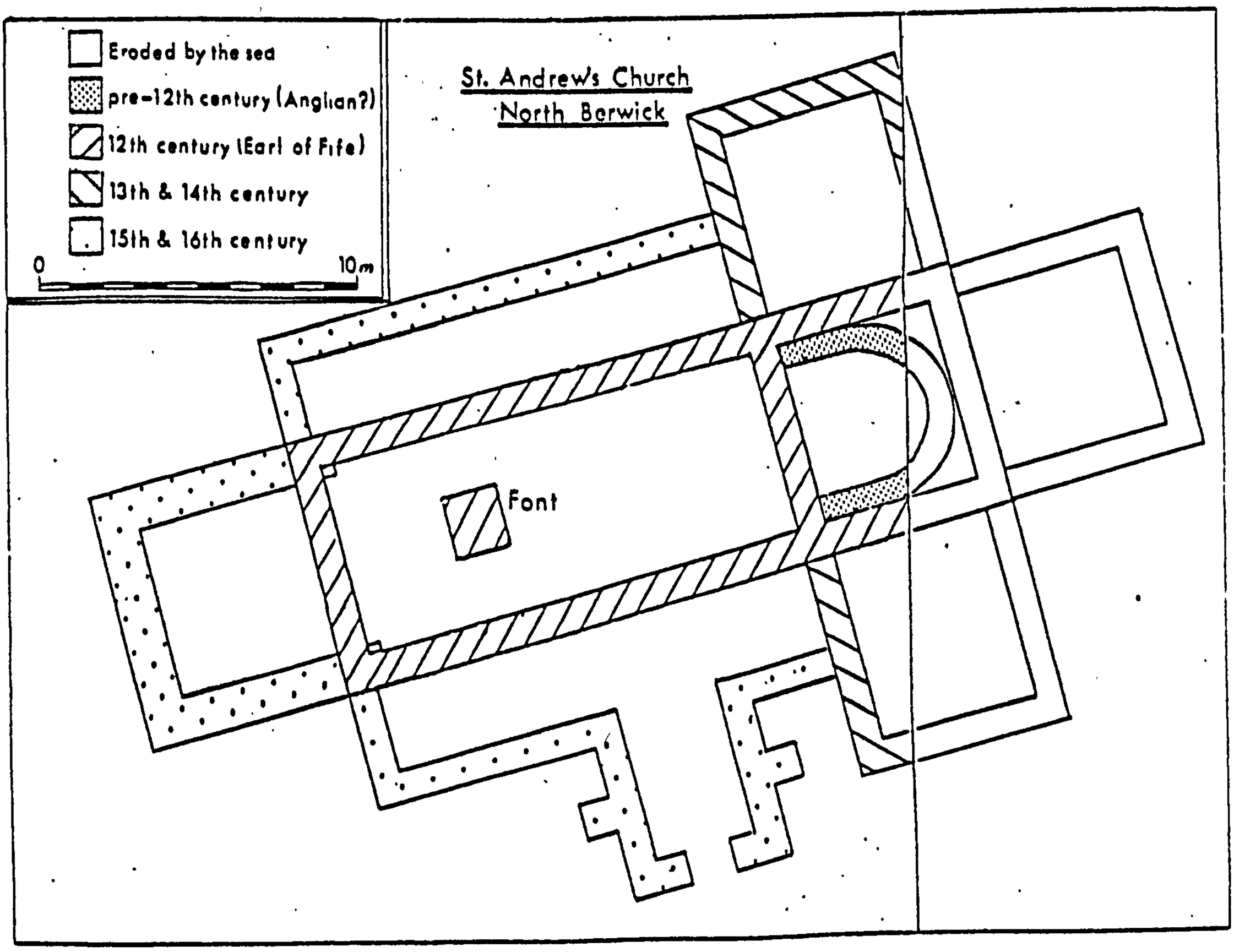
Kinneil, West Lothian
(Ordnance Survey 1846)

Figure 7.21



burial-ground.

The church of Gullane is mentioned as existing by 1170 but belonging to the De Vaux family, who were lords of the formerly royal manor of Eldbotle (Cowan.1967.78-9) (Fig 7.19). This connection with the manor of Eldbotle which was probably an important place during the time of the Anglian occupation of the vicinity (p 321), would seem to imply that the place originated as the meeting-place or burial-ground for the associated settlements in the possible Dirleton-North Berwick land-block (Fig I.11). Apart from the cross-fragment, there is no real evidence for the existence of the church or burial-ground at Gullane before the twelfth century. The site of North Berwick is most interesting since D. Wilson claimed that burials and remains which "were clearly referrable to the Anglo-Saxon period" were found when "a large sepulchral mound... levelled near the beach at North Berwick" was removed in 1847 (Wilson.1881.58). Wilson locates the mound where a gas-works was later built (NT 547854) and only refers to one find, "a circular silver fibula apparently of the Anglo-Saxon era", without giving any reasons for this dating or saying where the finds went (1881.174). He also refers to the frequency of burials being uncovered in the vicinity of North Berwick, which explains the discovery of a pin from a rock-shelter burial and a brooch from the golf course to the east of North Berwick (Close-Brooks.1975. 226). The Introduction to the Cartulary of the Convent at North Berwick also refers to cist burials being found

among the later graves associated with the Convent (1847. viii). Thus North Berwick might owe its origins to its being a focus for burials from a date before the Anglian occupation. The presence of the brooches and pins being due to their use as fastenings for the clothes of burials. Though it is possible that this was a burial mound of Prehistoric origin which was used for long-cists, the lack of detail warns against assuming too much. The old church of St Andrews which stood on a former island in North Berwick harbour, could be associated with Kinnrimont-St Andrews, and like the latter place, has a dedication to a saint who owed his influence in Britain to Wilfrid of York establishing a church dedicated to him at Hexham (p 66) North Berwick was the site of an important ferry for pilgrims to Kinnrimont-St Andrews in later Medieval times (Cowan. 1967.157) and so it is possible that this role originated during the time of the Anglian Northumbrian occupation. The church was excavated under J Richardson in 1906 and the details of this, like that of the church at Tyninghame (p 415) remain to be located or made available for study. The only plan of the church which is available is on a plaque on the actual site, which explains the rather generalised plan by the author (Fig 7.21). The most interesting part of the plan is the small, round-ended structure which was completely enclosed by the later church, 4 by 4 metres overall, could have been the chapel which was built at some pre-twelfth century date, possibly before the Scots. A depiction of the same church in 1789, by the artist Grose,

shows a fragment of walling, at a lower level than the other remains of the church, on the east side of the former island where the possible apse of this earlier building would show, as a result of sea-erosion. In spite of this apparent supporting evidence, this structure might have originated as an earlier apse of the twelfth century building. It might even have been built by the Scots after they took over the Tweed-Forth area. Though there probably was a chapel or some sort of religious structure there during the time of the Anglian occupation, for the pilgrims to Kinnrimont-St Andrews, proof remains to be found that this structure was that chapel.

The site of Kinneil has been discussed above (p 339) as a probable Anglian settlement west of Edinburgh, the Penneltun which Bede referred to. Aerial photography has shown that the church there and the surrounding burial-ground were sited within a circular ditched enclosure, possibly an earlier settlement (RCAHMS.WL/1764) (Fig 7.20). It was also suggested above that Penneltun had a similar relationship with Carriden as Eldbotle seems to have had with Karmurdac. However, the disruption of Anglian settlement west of Edinburgh after 685 makes it difficult for this similarity to be extended to the Anglian settlement or show that it ever superseded Corriden with it's caer-element place-name (pp 339-340) (Fig I.18). The excavations at Kinneil also located a floor-level beneath the burials which lay under the floor of the twelfth century church and could have been the floor of an earlier church (Hunter.

1960.193). If there was such an early church there, possibly a chapel of a local thane, or lord, the "rood" could have been made for this. The site of the enclosure could have been converted to use as a burial-ground at an early date and there is not much evidence available to use in the interpretation of this intriguing site. The re-use of a ditched enclosure for a "developed cemetery" is reminiscent of Thomas' points about the "sacred enclosure" and the origins of the "developed cemetery" in pre-Christian religious ideas (Thomas.1971.50-67). There is no evidence to suggest similar origins for the burial-ground at Gullane, since there is not even the slightest indication of a sub-oval shape for the earliest form (Fig 7.19). Only excavation might show whether the origins of this were the result of Anglian or Anglo-British cultural traits.

In the Great Charter for Holyrood of 1138, reference was made to the church of St. Cuthbert and its chapels at Liberton and Corstorphine (pp 89 - 90), which would seem to show the existence of a minster church with subsidiary chapels within the shire of Edinburgh, by that date. The problem is in proving the existence of the church at some date during the time of the Anglian occupation, which is not possible due to the many changes and re-building which the church itself was subject to between 1138 and the present. The earliest depictions of the church and its related burial-ground do not give the slightest indication of pre-twelfth century origins. The name of the associated settlement, Kyrchetun has been suggested as incorporating

the Anglian element cirice , for a meeting-place (p 135) so there was probably a recognised meeting-place there in Anglian times for the associated settlements of the land within the shire . The minster status of St. Cuthbert's might have been a result of the influence of Queen Margaret, who was known to have favoured Edinburgh as a residence. The position of Kyrchetun and St. Cuthbert's church, at a focus of several routes and below the site of Din Eidyn (Fig I.15), is very similar to that of Hobkirk below Bonchester Hill, Ancrum below Castle Hill, Nisbet below Peniel Heugh and St Ninians below Stirling. The implication is that this was a meeting-place of some age, as the presence of the Class I Pictish symbol-stone nearby and possibly originally from there, seemed also to suggest (p 173). Though it is also probable that there was a chapel on the site of Din Eidyn , for the resident British chiefs, such as Mynyddog Mwynfawr , who was mentioned in the Gododdin poem, possibly on the site of the later chapel of St Margaret, in the Inner Bailey of the castle; no trace of it remains or has been identified.

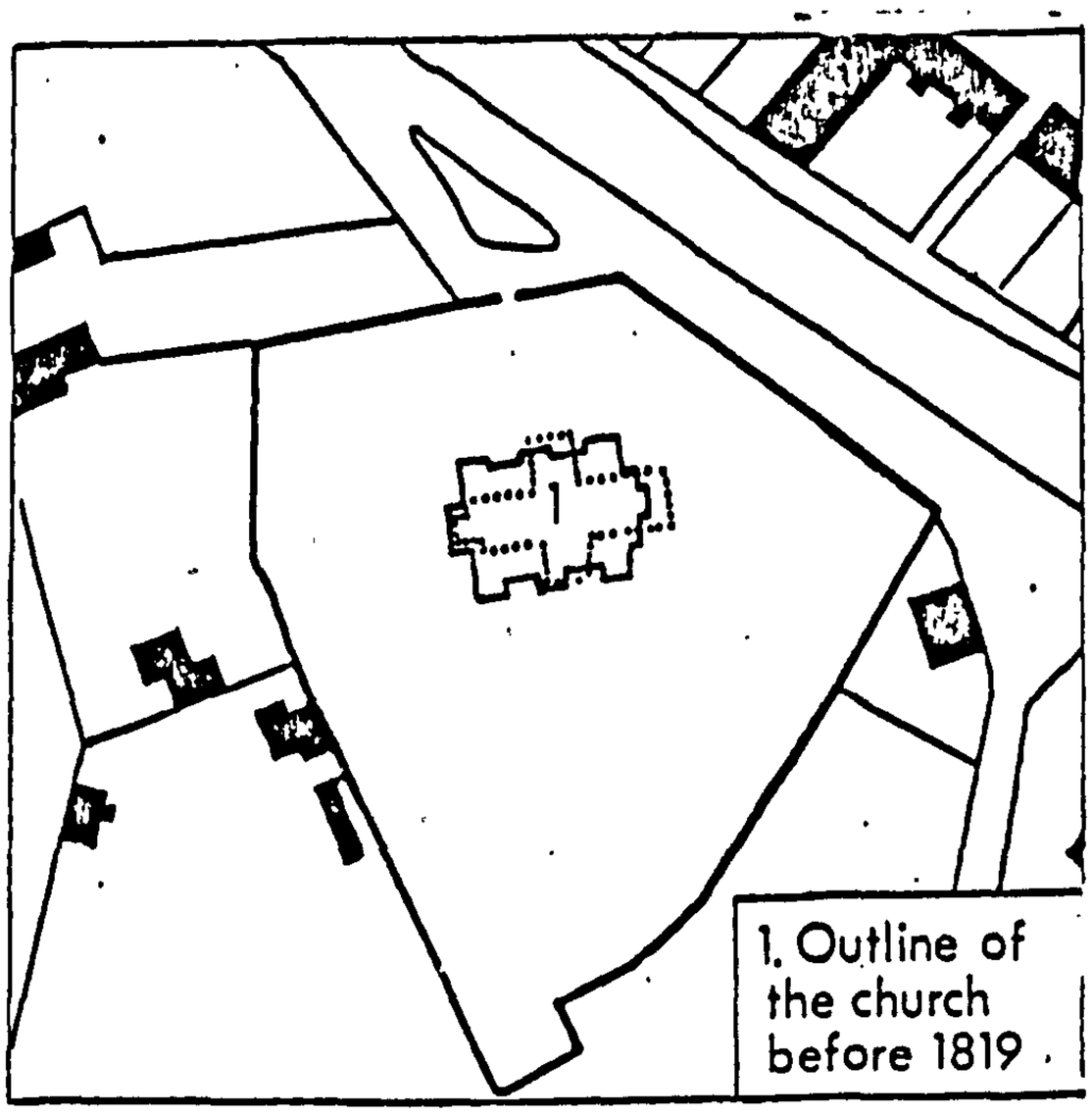
The annat -element name for Lochend Hill, Craiginate has been noted as probably referring to Restalrig Church or its predecessor above (p 376). It would only seem to refer to a place which had no recorded connection with Edinburgh and might have served a lesser centre within the dependent lands of Edinburgh. No date is known for the apparent long-cist cemetery beside Holyrood Abbey (Fig I.15), so it is possibly of later Medieval origin.

Excavation of ground at the eastern end of St. Giles' High Kirk, in 1982, for a cellar, uncovered the fragmentary remains of a mortared wall, running east-west and at a slight angle to the Kirk and below 5 metres of clay. This clay seemed to be earlier than the twelfth century church of St. Giles, the probable product of landscaping to make a suitable site for it in the twelfth century or earlier (N Holmes.Pers.Comm.1982). Though this could have come from an earlier predecessor of St Giles, this is not adequate proof. Nor does it show that this was built by the Angles or even about the time of Athelstan's possible reoccupation of "Edinburrough" in 934 (p 266). The fact that this building was sited by the junction of the old route from the south, from a junction at Potterrow over the Cowgate to join the road along what is now the Royal Mile by the Mercat Cross, could indicate its origins as a structure by a meeting-place on a route junction (Fig I.16). The lack of dating evidence for these three sites means that they remain only possible sites of pre-twelfth century churches.

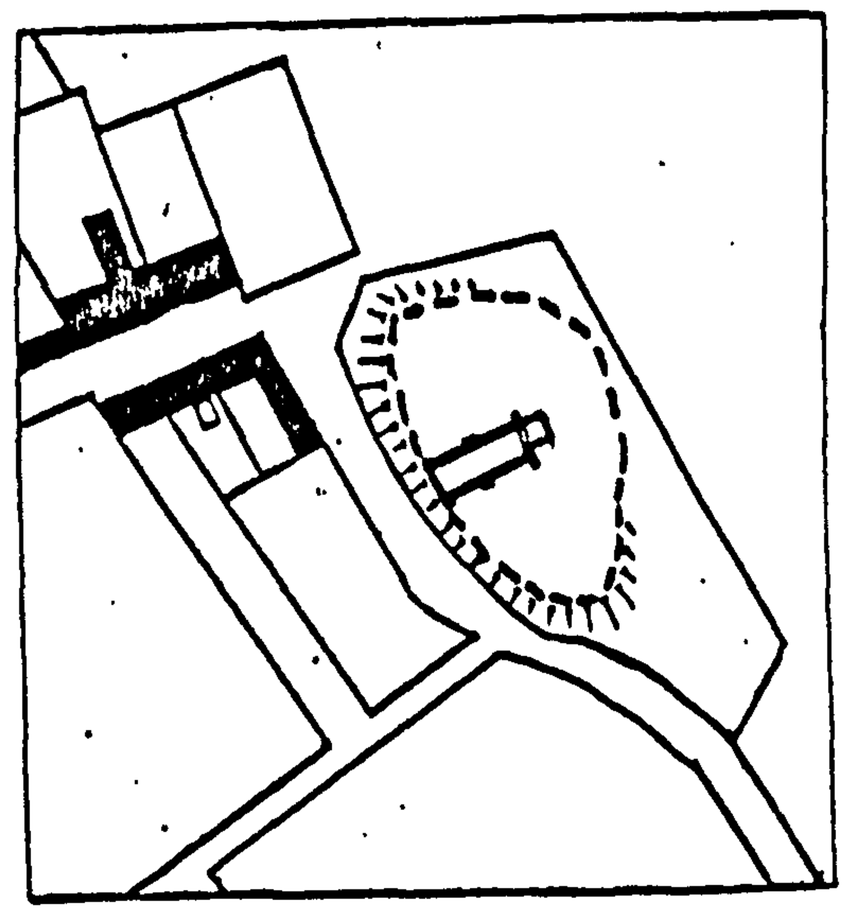
The site of Liberton was of interest because it was here that a chapel of St. Cuthbert's church was situated and had a place-name which showed its origin as a dependent settlement of Edinburgh (p 335). The burial-ground would seem to have been of at least pre-tenth century date, since two burial-markers of that possible general date have been discovered, one built into Liberton Tower and the other in the rockery of a modern house. Neither were found near the

site of the church of Liberton, though they could have been moved or the earlier burial-ground lay elsewhere and was moved to the present site before the twelfth century. The first piece of sculpture (Allen.1903 Vol III.424), with its central cross, panels of decoration and interlace strips on the narrow sides (Fig III.37), resembles the cross-slabs from Govan in Strathclyde (Allen.1903.III, 469-70, Figs 497, 498). The other is completely different, a small cross with shallow, pecked interlace (Fig III.38). The basic shape is fairly common in North Britain in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Bailey.Pers.Comm.1986) and the interlace similarly resemble that on the tenth or eleventh century burial slabs, like one at Govan in Strathclyde (Allen.1903.468 Fig 494). The discovery of these shows that there were people at or associated with Liberton who could have had such grave-markers carved and they could have been the predecessors of the "Malbetber de Libertune", who was mentioned in the witness list of the Holyrood Charter as living in 1138 (p 91). Inevitably, it could be assumed that Liberton was one of the lesser centres within the dependent lands of Edinburgh and the grave-markers came from the burial-ground for the associated communities, which might have existed before the tenth century.

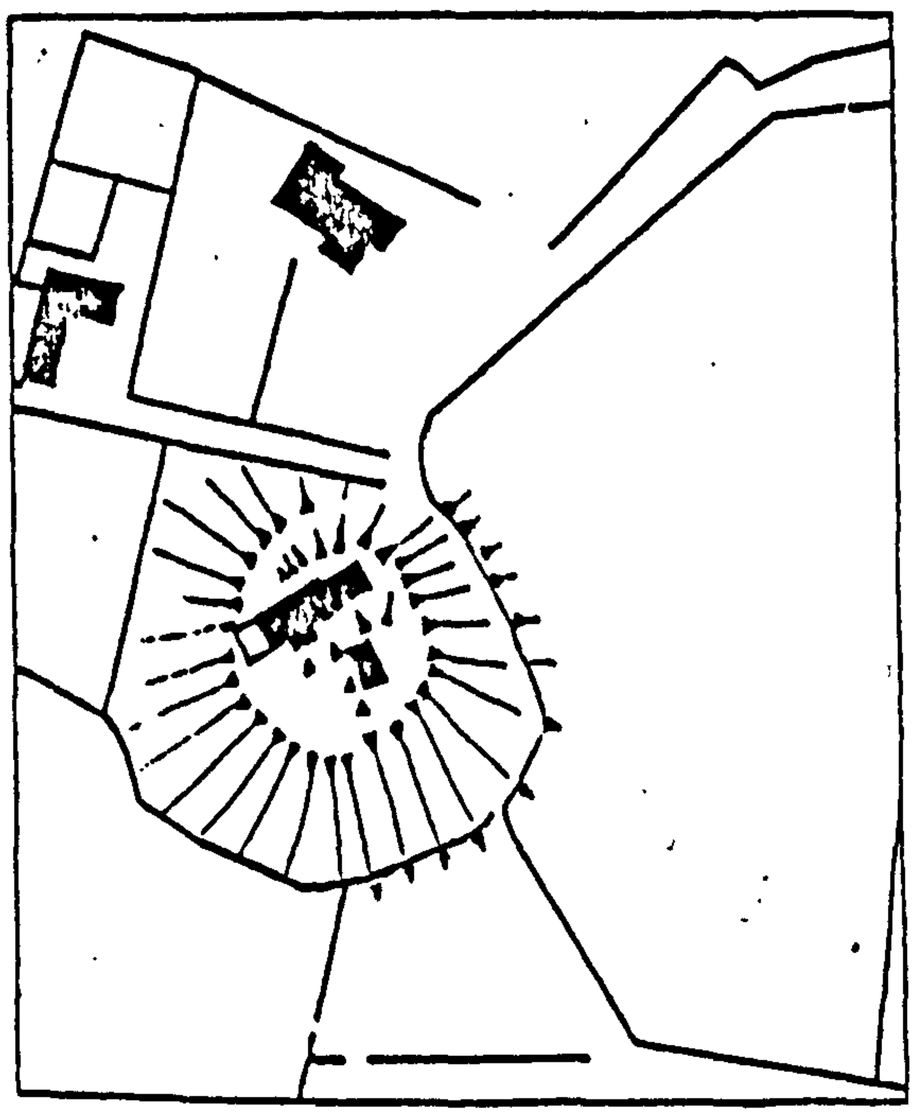
The church of St Bees at Dunbar could be dated to no earlier than the establishment of the Earldom of Dunbar and March at some date after 1072 (p 94)(Fig 7.21). This is because the lack of earlier dating-evidence and the fact that St Bees was a saint of Cumbrian origin (Mackinlay.1910.192). When the older church of St Bees was demolished in 1819.



St Bees, Dunbar, East Lothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)



St Martins, Haddington, East Lothian
(Ordnance Survey 1893)



Linton, Roxburghshire
(Ordnance Survey 1856)

several "sculptured stones" were found under the east end of the church which seemed to indicate that the west end was the older part (Millar.1959.191). Millar unfortunately neglected to describe these "carved stones" so it is possible that they were not of Anglian or even pre-twelfth century date . His description of the former chancel-arch of the old church as "Saxon" which would mean Norman Romanesque, does not mean that the church itself was of an earlier date than the late eleventh or early twelfth century. This does not exclude the possibility that the burial-ground was older and these "sculptured stones" were parts of crosses or grave-markers of late ninth or tenth century date; this remains to be proven.

Though it is possible that there was a church or chapel at Dunbar during the time of the urbs regis and the praefectus , before the Scottish sack of the place in the ninth century, no trace is known of it. Dunbar, like Edinburgh, has been the site of much building, destruction and reconstruction between the eleventh century and the present so that any possible remains of an early chapel might not survive or be identifiable. The only record of a church in the vicinity of Dunbar in an Anglian Northumbrian source is to Tyninghame in the Historia de S. Cuthberto , which has been suggested above as the possible site of the unsuccessful minster church for the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" land-block (p 416). Thus, the site of St Bees or the burial-ground could have become into being after the sack of Tyninghame in 941. The proximity of the site to

the long-cist cemetery at Kirkhill Braes (Fig 6.3) is such that it is possible that they represent the continuing use of a particular site for burial or religious use. Since the earliest or latest burials at either place have not been dated, this remains only one possible interpretation of the evidence. The discovery of a long-cist to the north of the church in 1972 (O S Record Card NT 67 NE 26) could indicate that the long-cist cemetery was much larger than previously thought, and the burial-ground was a logical development from the long-cist cemetery to a "developed cemetery" of the Anglian or later type.

The only record of the dependent chapels of the church of St Bees is in the foundation charter of the collegiate church of 1342, when they included East Linton, Duns and Chirnside as well as Whittinghame, Spott, Stenton, Penshiel and Hedderwick (Cowan.1967.50). Only Whittinghame is mentioned at an earlier date, in the Taxatio of 1276, as "Ecclesia de Dunbar cum capella de Whittingeham" (Chalmers. 1810.2.541) and there is the connection of the court of the Earldom being situated there. Little evidence exists for the other named chapels being of pre-twelfth century origin. Nor any evidence to date the development of the church of St Bees as a minster church to after the establishment of the Earldom of Dunbar and March. The cause of this development appears to have been the disruption of the ninth and tenth centuries and the apparent "failure" of Tyninghame, though this interpretation is based on the author's own conjectures, after Cramp's excavations at the Hirsel.

Minster status could be claimed for two other churches in the Tweed-Forth area, those at Falkirk and at St Ninians had recorded dependent chapels in later Medieval times: the former had Muiravonside, Polmont and Slamannan, while the second had Airth, Dunipace, Larbert and Gargunnock (Cowan. 1967.64, 124). Like the other possible mother churches in the upper Tweed basin, Stobo and its chapels of: Broughton, Dawick, Drummelzier, Lyne and Tweedsmuir (Cowan.1967.190), it has been assumed above (pp $^{341\text{-}2,}_{378}$) that these arrangements were co-terminus with territorial arrangements and of ultimately British origin, Since Falkirk and St Ninians were eglwys -element places (p 359). Though the term "cum capellis et parochiis" occurs several times in twelfth century charters, most notably in those concerning the churches of Old Roxburgh and Mow in Roxburghshire (Cowan and Easson. 1976.48), this is not really proof of these chapels existing in the twelfth century or earlier. The term could simply have been part of the general formula for charters concerning churches at the time and these chapels are rarely actually named . The church of St Mary at Haddington had the later churches at Drem and Athelstaneford as chapels, while the church of St Michael at Linlithgow had chapels at Binny and Tartraven (Cowan.1967.90, 134). "Capellis et terris" are mentioned in the charter of David I, which granted St Michael's church to the see of St Andrews in 1138 (Lawrie. CXVIII) and Athelstaneford is actually named in a charter of Ada, Countess of Haddington of 1167 (Cowan.1967.9). While the position of the church of St Michael within the

"Peel of Linlithgow" has led the author to suggest its possible origins as the chapel of a British landowner's residence (p 363), the origins of St Marys church at Haddington are less certain. On the east side of the Tyne lies the site of St Martin's chapel, the origins of which are similarly obscure. It lies within a burial-ground which would seem to incorporate an earlier, smaller, sub-oval enclosure (Fig 7.21), which suggests its possible origins as a "developed cemetery" of pre-twelfth century date. The evidence to prove this has not been identified, nor is there any evidence to show its relationship, if any with the church of St Mary which stands on the west side of the East Lothian Tyne and became the parish church of Haddington. The origins of Haddington itself are obscure, though it was suggested above that it replaced Bolton as the centre of a "confederation" of territorial groupings in the land around the Tyne basin, at some time before the mid-twelfth century (pp 323-324). If this was the case, the burial-ground around St Martins might have been the original centre for the communities which were connected with Haddington and St Marys and was set up in association with this "new" site. It might be no coincidence that the Cistercian nunnery of Haddington, which was established in 1159 (Cowan and Easson.1976.147), was set up to the east of the burgh, the same side of Haddington as the chapel of St Martin.

This discussion is based on evidence which could be interpreted with different conclusions, and is limited by a lack of dating evidence. The situation of the chapel of St

Martin by a crossing of the Tyne could support the proposal that it was by a centre or meeting-place,However, the finding of a silver chain "near Haddington" in 1873 (Stevenson. 1955a.228), might indicate the site of Haddington as a place of importance before the Angles. The possibility of a church or "developed cemetery" site being abandoned in favour of a different site might be supported by the example of a lost church at Forton or East Fortune. In the Historia Translationibus St Augustini , a document from Canterbury, Queen Margaret entered a church of St Lawrence at Forton at some time before 1094, only to be "struck down" (Ritchie. 1954.77 n 1). No trace is known of this church or is there any record of its existence before or after this date, even the location is not known. It could be suggested that the church came into existence after the sack of Tyninghame in 941 though it was superseded by another church or chapel. It must also be noted that not too much should be made of this single reference in a late and foreign source, which might have included errors which cannot be corrected by other evidence. What this example shows is the obvious fact that the evidence which is available to the student of the early Medieval period in the Tweed-Forth area cannot provide all the information on all the sites and their developments in the same period but information can be found in non-Scottish or later sources.

Though the cross-fragments provide the only really datable class of artefacts of the Anglian period in the Tweed-Forth area, the fact that the examples were never found in situ

, inevitably places their original sitings in question and does not really answer the question as to the reason or reasons for their locations and if they really did come from the immediate vicinity. In this section and in the other two of this chapter, reference has been made to 38 pieces of pre-Norman decorated crosses or grave-markers, excluding the "hog-back" grave-markers. In spite of the paper by Stevenson on various cross-fragments, including those from Tyninghame and Netherurd (1959) and Cramp's important paper on the cross-fragments from Jedburgh (1983), there has been no real attempt to study and examine this significant corpus of stones in their totality. It is unfortunate that Cramp's important 1984 study of the crosses of Northumbria does not cover the land north of the Tweed, though a most useful reference is made to the more important crosses in the Tweed-Forth area, such as that at Aberlady (1984). The fact that some of these crosses are not open to general examination or are not widely known, like the cross-fragment from Gullane, can partly explain this lack of study.

The approach of studying a cross-fragment in the context of the vicinity of where it was found, seems to be the best way to use this particular artefact. The fact is that it is rarely possible to relate it to remains or recorded arr-angements which were in some way contemporary. Thus the fact remains that the possibilities which have been sketched out in this chapter, on the basis of what evidence is avail-able, might bear only slight resemblance to what existed or

was developing by the time of the period which was being discussed. The problems are inevitable with the "living landscape" and while some religious places might develop on a recognisable pattern, others might not. The small cemetery of twelve burials by the hall-enclosure on Doon Hill might be associated with the square structure, of 6.2 metres, aligned east-west, which overlay the patches of burning and cremation (Fig 5.1), but this is not definite and there is no actual evidence for it having been a chapel of the hall which replaced the possible pre-Anglian "holy place" (p 239) (Fig 7.7). There is no record of a church or chapel on the site, nor is there any evidence that the chapel at Pinkerton, which lies 1.6 kilometres to the east (Cowan.1967.50) (Fig I.10) had any kind of relationship with it. This problem has been touched on with regard to the church and cross at Sprouston and how it might have been related to the crop-mark site at Whitmuirhaugh Farm (p 146).

Much has been made of the later records of religious organisation or patterns in parts of the Tweed-Forth area, in the previous chapter, as reflecting the territorial arrangements. This assumes that the basic patterns or areas of settlement did not change drastically between the sixth century and the twelfth. Only the patterns of the distribution of the major long-cist cemeteries in certain parishes would seem to provide indications of the relationships between territorial and religious arrangements (p 221).Though this is an important indication, so much

could have happened between the sixth and twelfth centuries, which has not been recorded, such as the development of Loquariot as a place with at least 3 crosses and consequent importance. The apparent relationship between British sites or cemeteries and Anglian places of importance, is on the basis of topographical proximity, though documentary, structural and artefactual evidence can support some examples. The relationship between the territorial arrangements which were recorded in the Historia de S Cuthberto and the later estates, parishes and counties, would almost seem to support the basic premise of changes and developments within established relationships or arrangements. As was pointed out in the Introduction, continuity can be in various forms, either of a site or a vicinity and should almost be assumed to have been the norm rather than the exception. This would be a natural consequence of what has suggested above, at the end of the previous chapter (pp 346-347) that whatever changes might have taken place in the early Medieval period, they might have had only a limited effect on the lives and behaviour of most of the population.

The suggestion that the Anglian Northumbrian church only began to have some effect on native religious activities in the eighth century or later, would seem to be supported by the lack of evidence for "developed cemeteries" existing before the ninth century, at the earliest. Even then, the normal place for religious activities seems to have been at a meeting-place, either one which was marked by a cross or a prominent natural feature like the mounds at East Linton

in East Lothian or at Linton in Roxburghshire (Figs 7.16, 21). With some exceptions like Coldingham, the "developed cemeteries" seem to have been the next stage of development, partly a natural consequence of the disruptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, as seems to have been the case with the Hirsel. Thus, the possible "developed cemeteries" could have been established at any time between the ninth century and the mid-twelfth. Though these cemeteries or burial-grounds could date to the Anglian period or earlier, such as the ones which lay beside long-cist cemeteries, the churches or chapels are difficult to date to any earlier time than the ninth century, when the end of the Northumbrian monasteries made it necessary for the thanes and drengs or the ordinary natives to make their own religious arrangements. The apparent changes of the eighth century, such as the "break" in the use of the long-cist cemeteries, can be related to the economic changes of that general date (p 333), just as those of the twelfth century can be related to economic and other developments of that general period (p 12).

This general scheme of development or "model" (p 222-8) could explain the cases of the main village of a parish being separate from the site of the parish church site, at Polwarth or Ancrum or Roxburgh. The burial-ground was sited in relation to the whole earlier territorial arrangement which provided the basis for the parish and only one of the settlements became the site of the principal village. The process of development would inevitably differ between parts of the

Tweed-Forth area, as between the Upper Tweed basin and the Merse, in parallel with the process of economic or territorial development. That the model of the development of Christian organisation or the relationship of the same to a later parish, can be applied quite widely in all parts of the area, could as much be an indication of the deficiencies in the evidence and the use which is made of it as it might be an indication of the widespread application of the models.

CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusion which can be drawn from this study is that the evidence for the Anglo-Saxon occupation of South-east Scotland can be identified and studied, as a result of work by various authorities. The information which can be drawn from studies of written and documentary sources, place-names, long-cist cemeteries and pre-Norman carved stones and crosses, is particularly valid because of the number of identified examples. The comparable studies of the early Medieval period and its remains in other parts of North Britain have proved most useful in the interpretation of the evidence from the Tweed-Forth area. As has already been said, the evidence for the Anglian Northumbrian presence exists, it needs to be identified and studied. This is not to claim that all the evidence which has been considered below is capable of unequivocal interpretation or completely reliable information.

It could also be concluded that the settlements and economy of the pre-Anglian Britons are worthy of a study in their own right. There is certainly a significant gap in the knowledge of developments between the third and eleventh centuries, except in the broadest details of some aspects. It could be reasonably concluded that the landholdings or territorial arrangements which were recorded in the Historia de S. Cuthberto had their origins with the pre-Anglian Britons. The apparent correlation of

large long-cist cemeteries - (those with more than 20 burials) - with later parishes and their boundaries is particularly important, especially where these cemeteries appear to be related to important religious sites. The recurrence of the "Multiple-Estate" arrangement of land-holding, which is paralleled in early Medieval Welsh documents, in later Medieval Scotto-Norman documents and in the arrangements of farms in certain valleys, is similarly important. These examples would all seem to support the conclusion that the territorial arrangements which originated with the pre-Anglian Britons, were taken over by the Angles or continued under their overlordship and developed in various ways up to when they were recorded.

The comparisons between these recorded arrangements and those of early Medieval Wales which have been studied by Davies would seem to be the best evidence for continuity between British Gododdin and Anglian Northumbria. There is also a definite relationship between the distribution of certain place-names of Old English origin and some of these recorded arrangements, which could show that Anglian settlement was influenced by these or their precursors. Similarly, some of the important Northumbrian sites bore place-names of Brittonic origin and some place-names incorporated both Old English and Brittonic elements. The survival, in both upland and lowland parts of the Tweed-Forth area, of distinctly British natives, is indicated by the distribution of place-names cf Brittonic origin. This would all support the already accepted

conclusion that there was much continuity between the Britons and the Angles, mainly due to the numbers of surviving British communities and lesser chiefs.

The fact that the author has had to use evidence other than that which is directly concerned with the Northumbrian Angles and their remains, could be seen as the main reason why there are such apparent inter-relationships between the different aspects of the early Medieval remains in the Tweed-Forth area. The broad approach to the evidence which was proposed in the Introduction can lead to patterns being discerned over wide areas of land, history or phases of economic or social development. It was a "living landscape", with land continually inhabited during and after the period, so that some aspects or arrangements would have persisted in spite of changes. The evidence for the environment and topography of the Tweed-Forth area is particularly equivocal and difficult to date to the early Medieval period or any time during it. Parallel studies of other parts of North Britain allow it to be assumed that there were changes or major developments in or around the eighth century or the twelfth and eleventh centuries. There is very little evidence of actual change, apart from the possible end of the use of the long-cist cemeteries in the eighth century, on the basis of the five Radiocarbon dates from one cemetery alone. This cemetery is the one associated with the "Catstane", near Kirkliston, in Midlothian (p 218).

The main limitation of the evidence which has been discussed is that most of it can only be used in relation to the vicinities of where it came from originally. This limitation is not so marked if the evidence is studied in the context of the parish or possible territorial arrangement in which it is found. The fact is that much of the identifiable evidence tends to derive from certain vicinities and be concentrated or grouped in some way. Thus, the various pieces of evidence can relate to each other within a known or recorded "multiple estate", as at the land around Coldingham, that which is related to Jedburgh, Dunbar or Edinburgh. Crosses, long-cist cemeteries, early "developed cemeteries", recorded sites or settlements of special importance and later important religious or secular sites need to be seen in relation to the territorial and economic structures, even if the evidence might relate to an earlier or later period. Any appreciation of the possible evidence for any "hierarchy" of settlements or chiefs and nobles, or the differing roles of various sites or settlements, has to be within an arrangement where supporting evidence or evidence of how parts of it developed is present. Thus it is possible to trace the apparent development of some sites or territorial arrangements, both major and lesser ones, and basic models of arrangements and developments can be proposed. Basic patterns or develcpments do not mean that there was uniformity in any but the broadest details in different parts of the Tweed-Forth area. If there were extensive

territorial arrangements in other parts of the Tweed-Forth area than those which were recorded, it does not follow that they all had the same structure or chiefs, at the same time.

The apparent "hierarchy" of recorded nobles or land-owners in twelfth century documents; earls, thanes and drengs and peasant farmers, is apparently reflected in a "hierarchy" of landholdings: the larger land-blocks which provided the basis for the later counties, the smaller arrangements which became the basis for the later parishes and individual settlements with associated lands, respectively. The Historia de S. Cuthberto and the details recorded in it show that some elements of the "hierarchy" existed by the Anglian period, in some parts of the Tweed-Forth area. The Anglian takeover of the Tweed-Forth area was by warfare and settlement by Angles in vacant land within the British arrangements. These activities could have given greater unity to some of the larger arrangements, since power and overlordship was being actually exercised. There is no definite evidence to support the suggestion that the Anglian princeps or subregulus, who is referred to in some Northumbrian written sources as being the most powerful Anglian noble in the northern part of Northumbria, was an Anglian replacement of the British overlord, possibly after the obsessio Eten of 638. There is only the possibility that these powers or recognised title of British overlordship, could have been granted, under Northumbrian pressure, to a more reliable vassal of the Northumbrian

king, since Northumbria replaced the Gododdin as controlling the Tyne-Forth area. This arrangement is another indication of the probability that warfare was primarily a matter for the chiefs and nobility. Thus, any changes which would have accompanied the Anglian takeover would have been primarily among these people, being required to accept Northumbrian overlordship or be replaced.

This would have meant that for most of the population of the Tweed-Forth area, the takeover would have made little difference to themselves or their economies. It might be more than coincidence that the recorded landholdings of the Northumbrian monasteries were where Anglian settlements, as indicated by place-names, seem to have been most dense, especially in the Berwickshire Merse and East Lothian. Similarly, there seems to have been some division between certain parts of the Tweed-Forth area, at least initially, as the distribution of both Brittonic and Old English place-names which referred to settlements implied this. The distribution of caer -element place-names is particularly interesting in this respect; especially with Karmurdac and its apparent replacement by Eldbotle.

Between the mid-Seventh century and the twelfth, there was ample time for the Anglian linguistic or cultural influence to spread and thus blur the place-name distinctions between Anglian and British settlements. This is where the archaeological work is especially deficient, with artefactual and structural evidence lacking to support or question assumptions which have been made on the basis of this poorly

dated linguistic evidence. The fact is that though the Angles had effectively taken over the British arrangements, the period after the initial takeover, in spite of the reversal of 685, was one when Anglian power and influence would have spread, at the expense of the Britons. Also, the Angles brought with them organised Christianity, in the form of the monasteries, which maintained power and landholdings for periods longer than a generation or the life of one chief. Any changes which took place in or around the eighth century could simply have been the logical result of the expansion of the Anglo-Saxons and their resulting impact on the British arrangements.

It could be assumed that the initial Anglian settlement followed established British patterns, though what resulted from the changes around the eighth century is not readily traceable. The impact of the disorder of the ninth century and after, as a result of Viking or Scottish disruption could also have essentially affected the nobility and chiefs. However, the only parallel for major changes or developments in North Britain is not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the development of the "nucleated villages". The twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Scotland were when the new monasteries and the imported Anglo-Norman lords made their impact on the area, as in other parts of North Britain. The vagueness of the details is an obvious by-product of the state of the evidence and the study. The intriguing remark in a charter of Malcolm IV, "whereas this half carrucate in King David's time lay

scattered about the field and was not very convenient, I now grant the same quantity of land lying all in one piece", (Barrow.1962.125) refers to land near Selkirk. It is unfortunately not possible to say whether this earlier arrangement was one which was of pre-Anglian origin or had developed since the Anglian takeover or was unique to that place or its vicinity. It is place-name evidence which allows evidence for settlement-expansion or the establishment of settlements in vacant land, to be possibly identified in the vicinity of Edinburgh and the Esk and Almond basins. This can be generally dated to the twelfth century and could reflect the basic pattern of development. That significant stretches of land could remain open moorland until this period or later, like Drumshoreland Muir in West Lothian or Keith in East Lothian, would seem to show a possible lack of any expansion of the population during the early Medieval period.

The evidence for early Christianity would seem to support the possible scheme of develcpment which has been outlined. The suggestion that the long-cist cemeteries had their origins on Bronze Age and Iron Age arrangements and maintained the use of burial-sites of that date is probable but not really proven. As with the proposal that the parish-boundaries reflected boundaries of Prehistoric origin, it fails to acknowledge the complexities of development and lacks evidence for dating or tracing the origins of even one cemetery. The evidence for Christian influence

is equivocal and the function of the sites indicated by eglwys -element place-names seems to have been that they originated as meeting-places for associated settlements over a significant area. There is no evidence that they originated as associations with secular lordships, though the latter could have developed at a later date. Since the earliest territorial arrangements were between settlements or groupings of them and their associated lands, the apparent early parish-boundaries might have originated as agreed limits of grazing, using natural markers. As such, they need not have become actual limits of territory in general until some later development caused them to become so. This is implied by the fact that the major long-cist cemeteries all lay by watercourses and only a few of the former lie at the centre of a parish. Thus, the pattern of distribution of the long-cist cemeteries could refer to what had developed out of arrangements of considerable antiquity.

The question of movement or shift of settlement or meeting sites within these "accepted" boundaries could explain the apparent proximity of most of the larger long-cist cemeteries to places of recorded religious importance. The Anglian church, in the form of the monasteries and their clerics, seem to have maintained the already established arrangement of preaching at a meeting-place, either an older one or a new one which was indicated by a cross. All of the known examples of these carved stones can be

related to places of importance in the early Medieval period, most of which became churches and parish centres at later dates. This includes the Anglian crosses and those of possibly British patronage. Also there were sites of meeting-places which did not seem to have had a cross or crosses but became the sites of important churches.

The eighth century would be an appropriate time for Anglian religious activities to have changed the British traditions , being almost a century after the Anglian takeover. The evidence for this is not conclusive but the appearance of the first crosses, the apparent parallels of economic change from other parts of England, and the few radiocarbon dates from one cemetery seem to support each other. The fact of differing rates of development between different parts of the Tweed-Forth area is evident in the distribution of churches or "developed cemeteries", where there is evidence for their being of pre-Norman date or origin; though this evidence is reliant on parallels with other, more definite examples and evidence for territorial arrangements in the vicinity. The relationship of Christianity to the latter is obvious though is only definitely proven at the Hirsel or by known places of Medieval importance like Edinburgh or Dunbar. Though it would be fitting to conclude that the important churches and "developed cemeteries" originated in the aftermath of the disruption of the ninth and tenth centuries, when lay

patronage was necessary to make up for the absence of the monasteries and their clerics, the evidence is far from definite. The basic elements for related communities would have been a burial-ground and a meeting-place where religious activities would have taken place; a church or chapel would have represented a further development on these. The other possibility is that the association of long-cist cemeteries and recorded places of religious importance is because the latter were established on the sites of meeting-places. Thus these could have been established at any time before the twelfth century and even where there are early written references to churches, as at Peebles, Traquair, Morebattle, Mow or Old Roxburgh, they do not prove that the churches or chapels were Anglian in origin. The construction of churches, like the carving of crosses, required lay patronage, usually of a noble or someone of similar importance, and the presence of these might have been lacking in some parts of the area. It might be no coincidence that the late pre-Norman grave-markers from Liberton came from a place which had a recorded lord by the early twelfth century. Thus, any assumption about a pre-Norman date for a church or chapel is dependant on someone to organise its construction and proof of their existence in the absence of direct evidence of the churches themselves. Until the proof is found, it might be best to refer to any evidence for a structure which could have been part of a church, or chapel, while acknowledging the lack of direct evidence for the same, in

some parts of the Tweed-Forth area by the twelfth Century.

It might seem obvious to group the five religious establishments at Old Melrose, Coldingham, Abercorn, Tyninghame and Jedburgh under the name of monastery, in view of their importance and what is known of the organisation of Christianity at the time. There is direct evidence for the establishment at Old Melrose and Kirk Hill at Coldingham being monastic establishments of Irish or Scottish type. This is supported by what structural evidence has been identified at both sites and both can be related to earlier and later places of importance and landholdings. The assortment of evidence relating to Colodaesbyrig and Coldingham could be said to provide the best model for the relationship of a monastery with a British landholding, burial-ground and Anglian settlement. With Old Melrose, the evidence is less reliable though much could be inferred on the basis of its considerable importance and proximity to the land-block associated with the Leader, Tweed and White Adder rivers. Abercorn, with its small enclosed area, was important, being the seat of a bishop and is recorded as a monasterium by Bede, though its economic basis is not recorded and it is not known what happened after 685. Tyninghame can be related to the "from Lammermuir thence to Eskmouth" land-block and seems to have been the minster church for it, which was also associated with the followers of St Baldred. The remains of the monastery, if there was one like the other three, have not been identified, as at

Jedburgh, which might not have been an actual monastery. What existed at this site, where the fragments of at least ten crosses have been found, is not known, Nor is there any information concerning the role of the site or its status in relation to the associated landholding.

These five sites show the problems inherent in applying a basic model too widely to interpret sites which have some important similarities, though they developed in different ways over the early Medieval period. The drystone vallum monasterii which Thomas located at Abercorn could either be earlier than the Anglian period or later, since the interior remains to be properly investigated. The same could be said of the site at Old Melrose and the linear earthwork which lies across the neck of the peninsula there, which might have been earlier. The relationship between a monastery and the dependent lands can be seen as the origins of the minster structure of churches. It is indeed fortunate that the recorded details for the Tweed-Forth area and the church's possessions within it can be discussed in such detail. The distribution of these possessions is as significant as their recorded details, especially in relation to possible native British settlements or fortifications and the linear earthworks. The details which are implied in other documents, even if they were of Scoto-Norman origin, are similarly more comprehensible if they are seen alongside the Northumbrian records.

It has been frequently noted in the course of this study that there were developments and changes taking place in various aspects of settlements and economy in the Tweed-Forth area throughout the early Medieval period. This was mainly because of the "living landscape" and such factors as the changing relationship between the Anglian Northumbrians and the native Britons between the seventh and eleventh centuries and the development of the Northumbrian church. Thus, the evidence which has been identified tends to refer to just one particular period, though some factors can be traced to an earlier period or even a later one. The whole subject of the territorial arrangements and the related social and economic ones is particularly difficult to discuss, in the absence of datable evidence. It is not very satisfactory to say that the arrangements which became the later Medieval parishes had their origins in the relationships between the defended settlements of late Prehistoric date, if the links and developments cannot be traced. This is where the evidence for the period after the second century is particularly deficient, though the evidence from Christianity and the Anglian Northumbrian church provides some important information. The fact is that the documents and the artefacts from this source help to provide the necessary contemporary details for any assessment of developments or changes. These aid what might have been a completely archaeological study, providing information from other fields of study or disciplines, "filling out the picture",

so to speak. Such evidence is not available from a pre-Literate society such as existed in the pre-Anglian period.

This is the main reason for plotting out on maps the remains of structures or settlements of pre-Anglian date or origin beside those of Anglian Northumbrian date or origin, within the context of a recorded territorial arrangement. It is very difficult to regard the Anglian monastery at Old Melrose as being completely unrelated to the major fortified settlement on nearby Eildon Hill North, or to regard Din Eidyn and Edinburgh as being completely unrelated to the enclosures on Arthur's Seat massif. It is unfortunate that more use has not been made of the territorial arrangements which are recorded in the early documents to try to understand the pre-Anglian arrangements and the origins of what had developed by the later Anglian period. This is where the idea of "total archaeology" is particularly applicable and is dependent on much archaeological investigation of as many relevant sites as possible. A careful use of the method of "working back" can be most useful, if done carefully and with reference to remains of the earlier period, as has been shown in the course of this study. There has been quite an amount of speculation and inference in the course of the same work, though it is acknowledged as such and is almost necessary within the study to make up for evidence or information that has not been identified or studied. In the "living landscape" of the Tweed-Forth

area, certain elements of previous arrangements and cultures would remain in spite of developments and changes. This is shown in the persistence of British place-names into the post-Anglian period and the distribution of the larger long-cist cemeteries in relation to the later parishes. That it is possible to trace some of the developments is an indication of the quality and volume of the evidence. In spite of the misgivings which were noted in the Introduction, with regard to that evidence which has survived concerning British Strathclyde and the Pictish territories, that for the Tweed is relatively rich. Thus, a multi-disciplinary approach is even more necessary, to identify the shortcomings of a historical approach to an archaeological study. It has become clear in the process that the documentary evidence seems to be better than the archaeological.

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THE ANGLO-SAXON OCCUPATION OF SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND

BY

CHRISTOPHER JOHN ALIAGA-KELLY

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Archaeology University of Glasgow

JUNE 1986

Volume 2

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Key to Symbols as used in Illustrations, in Volumes 1 and 2 (unless otherwise stated)

--- Road of Medieval or earlier origin

..•• Parish boundary, excluding recorded post-Medieval developments

-·-·- Property boundary (Millman 1969-71)

Linear earthwork

Open water or marshland (now drained)

F Ford

L Landing-place

■ Settlements of "Brito-Roman" type or yielding objects Of Roman Origin

◆ Prehistoric enclosures of exceptional size, "oppida"

◇ Defended settlements possibly occupied in Early Medieval times

C 'Chester -element place-name

△ Long-cist cemetery (possible)

▲ Long-cist cemetery of less than 20 burials

▲ Long-cist cemetery of 20 or more burials

o Burial-ground or church or chapel of pre-Norman origin

† Chapel of minster church by the 12th century

± Cross or grave-marker of pre-Norman type, excluding "hog-backs"

+ Lost cross or grave-marker of pre-Norman type, excluding "hog-backs"

M Mill of pre-12th century date

▼ Vill or settlement mentioned as being part of a multiple-estate

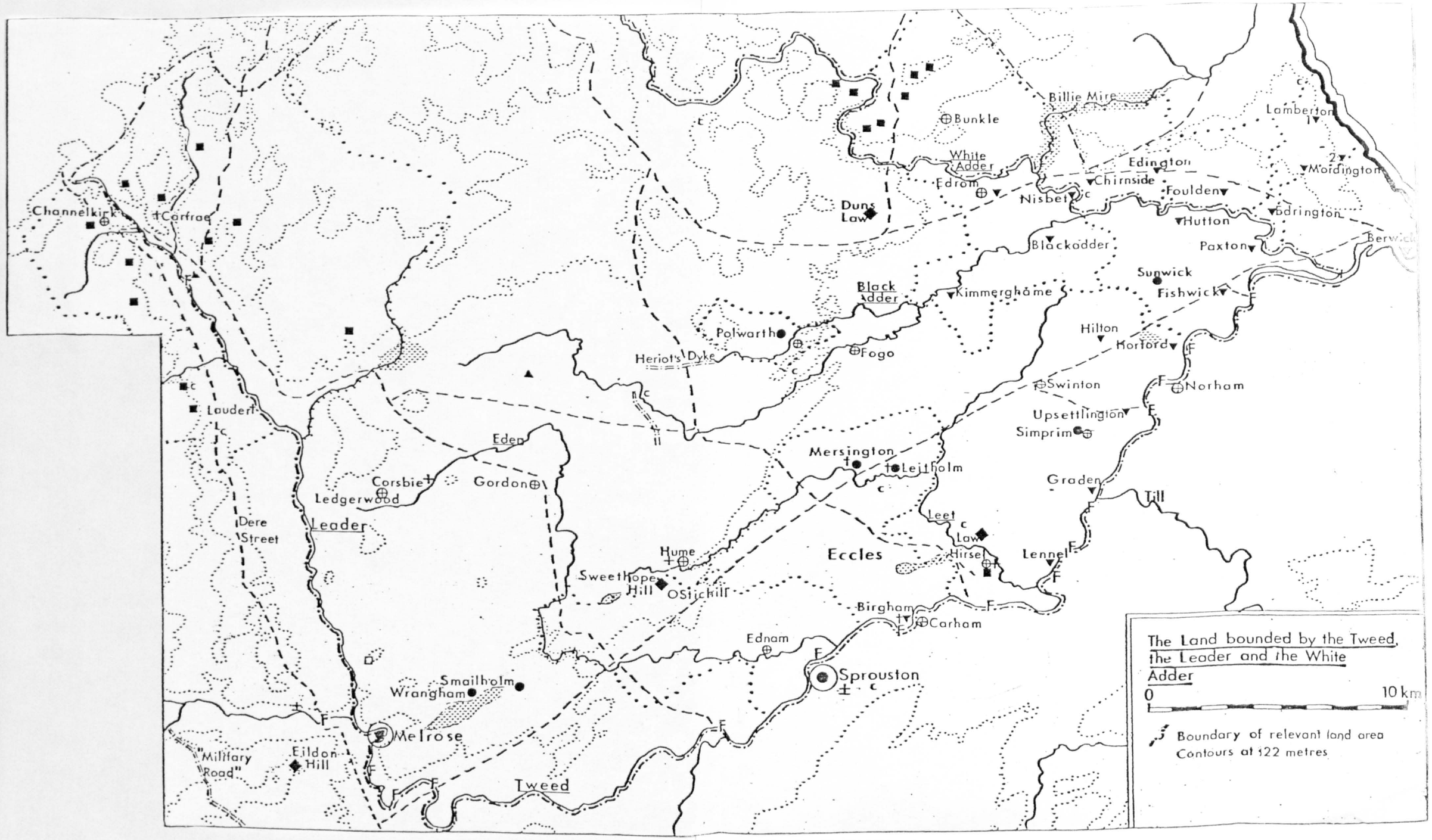
Billie Mire
Bunkle
White Adder
Edrom
Edington
Chirnside
Nisbet
Foulden
Lamberton
Mordington
Channelkirk
Corfrae
Duns Law
Hutton
Edrington
Blackadder
Paxton
Berwick
Sunwick
Fishwick
Black Adder
Kimmerghame
Polwarth
Fogo
Hilton
Hutford
Heriot's Dyke
Swinton
Norham
Laudert
Upsettlington
Simprim
Eden
Mersington
Lejtholm
Graden
Till
Corsbie
Gordon
Ledgerwood
Leet
Law
Dere Street
Leader
Eccles
Hirsel
Lennel
Hume
Sweethope Hill
Ostichill
Birgham
Carham
Ednam
Sprouston
Smailholm
Wrangham
Melrose
"Military Road"
Eildon Hill
Tweed
The Land bounded by the Tweed, the Leader and the White Adder
0
10 km
Boundary of relevant land area
Contours at 122 metres

Figure I.1

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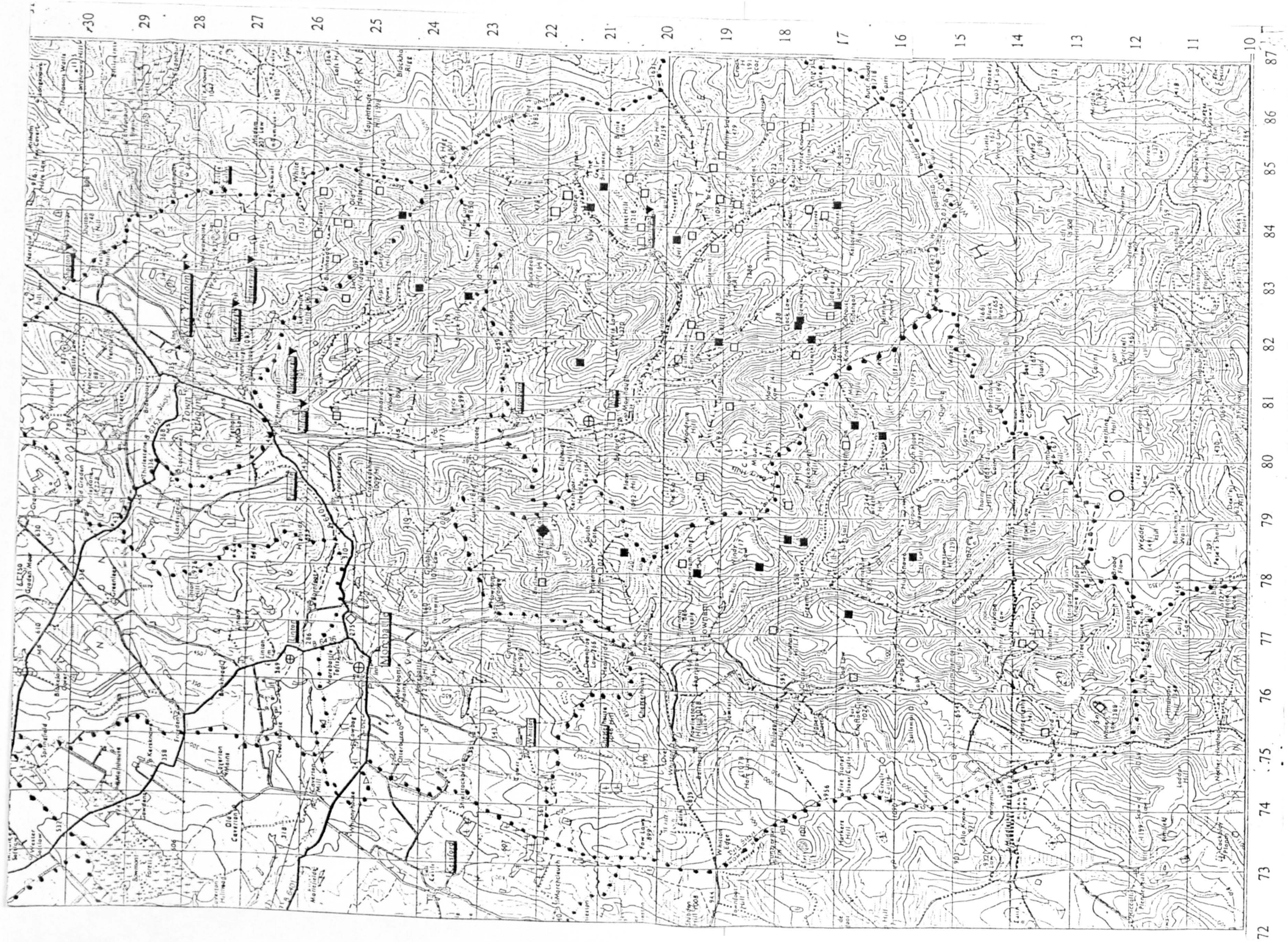


Figure I.2

The Bowmont and Kale Basins

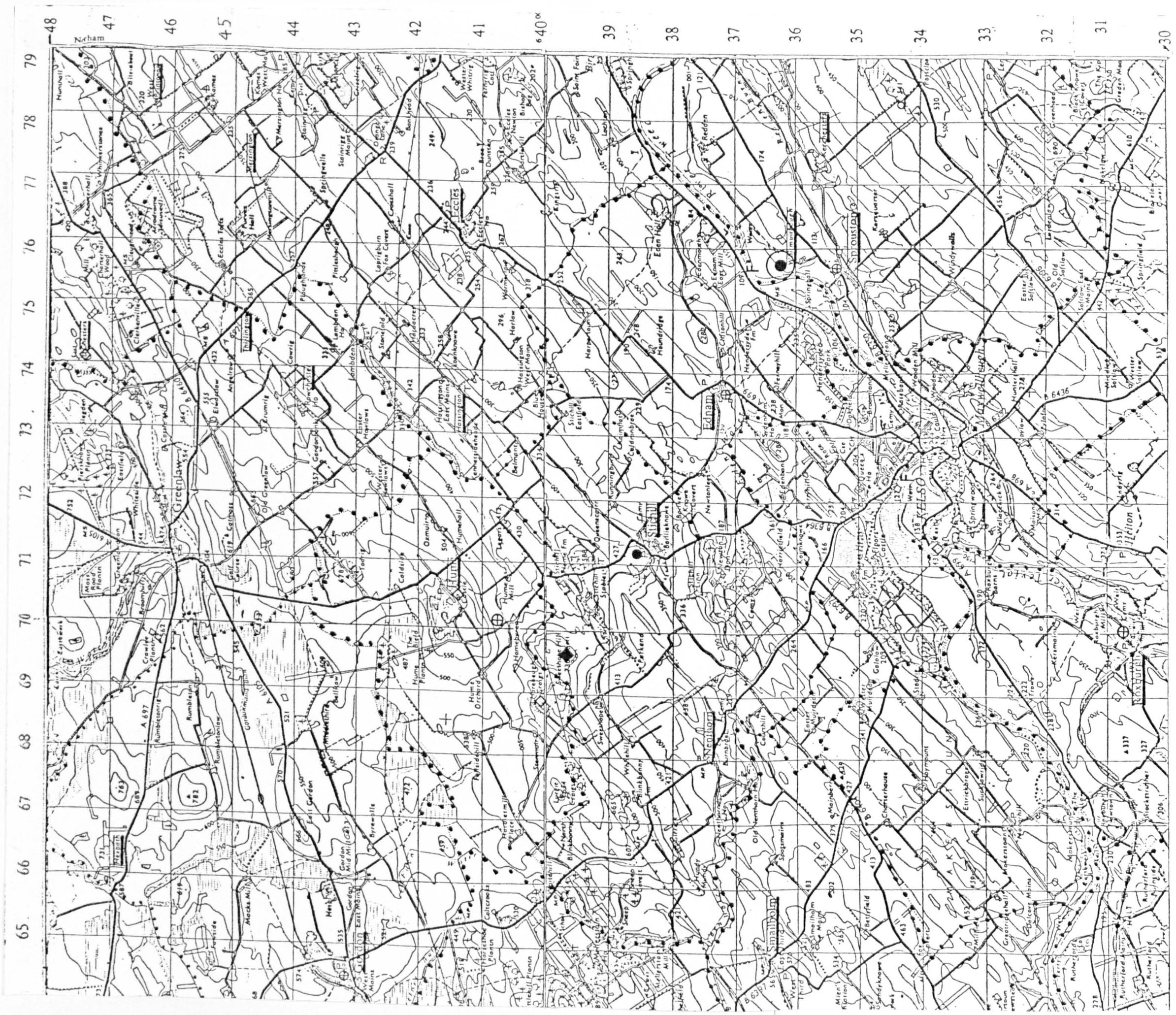


Figure I.3

The Central Berwickshire Merse

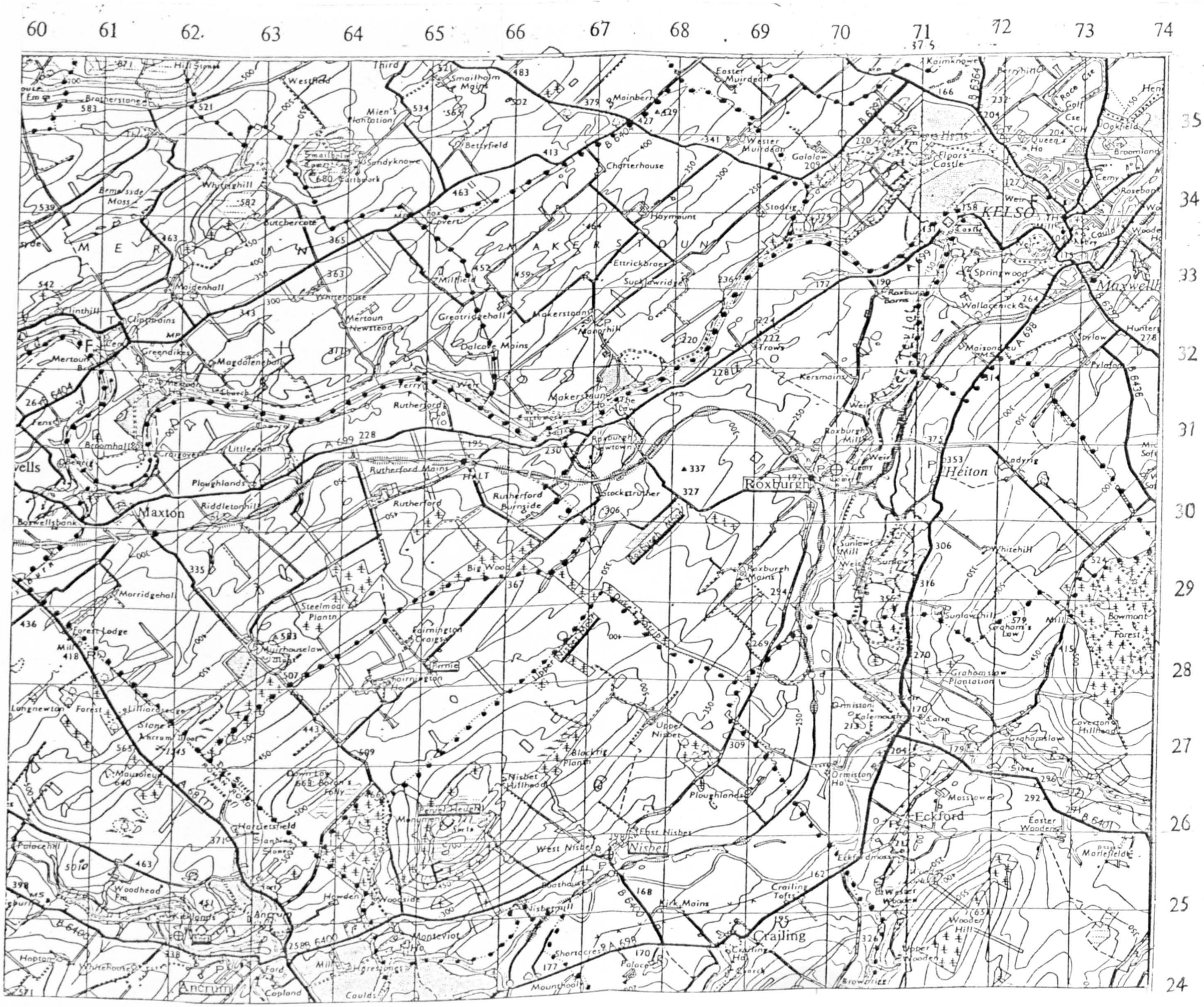


Figure I.4

Roxburgh, Nisbet and Ancrum

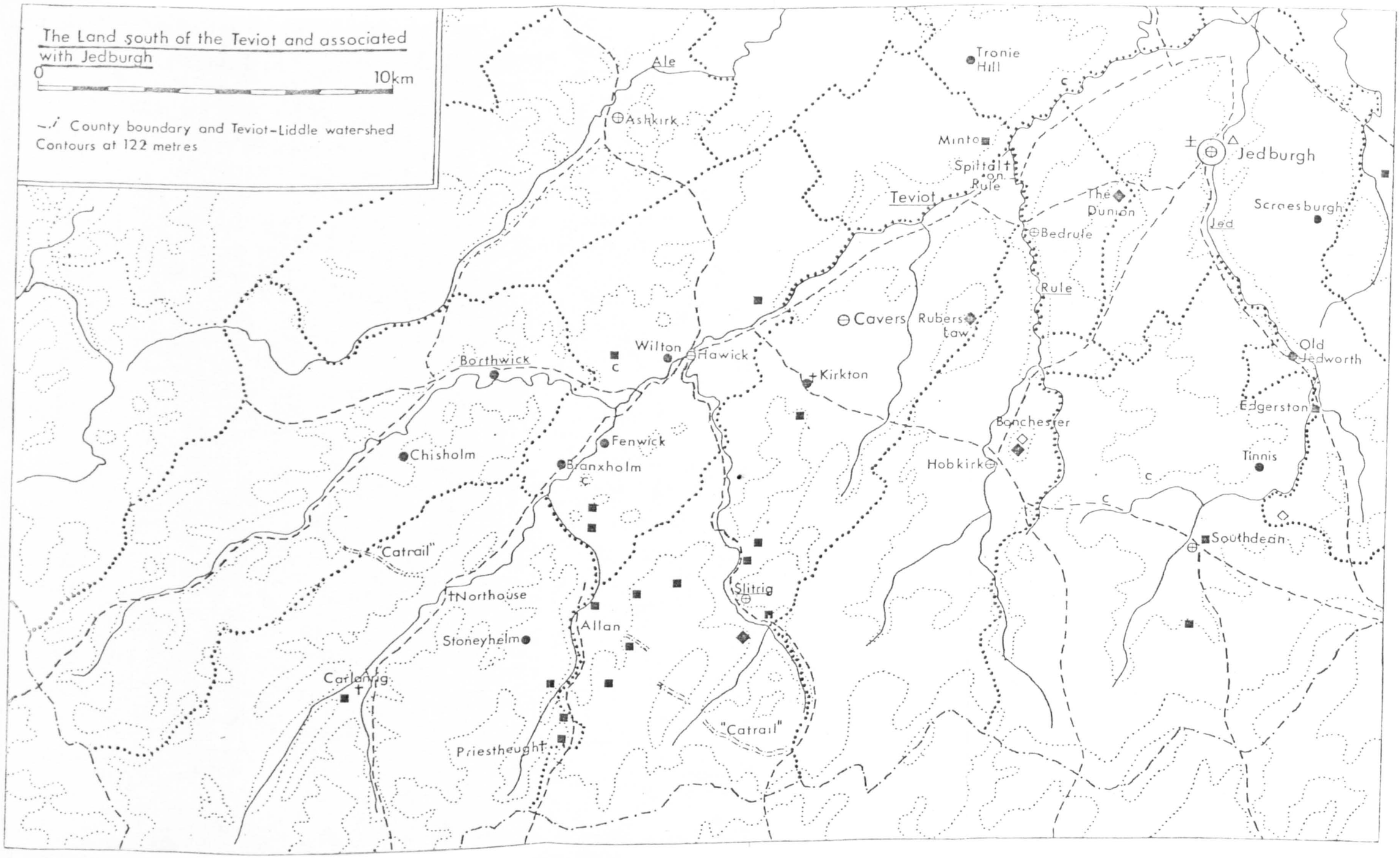
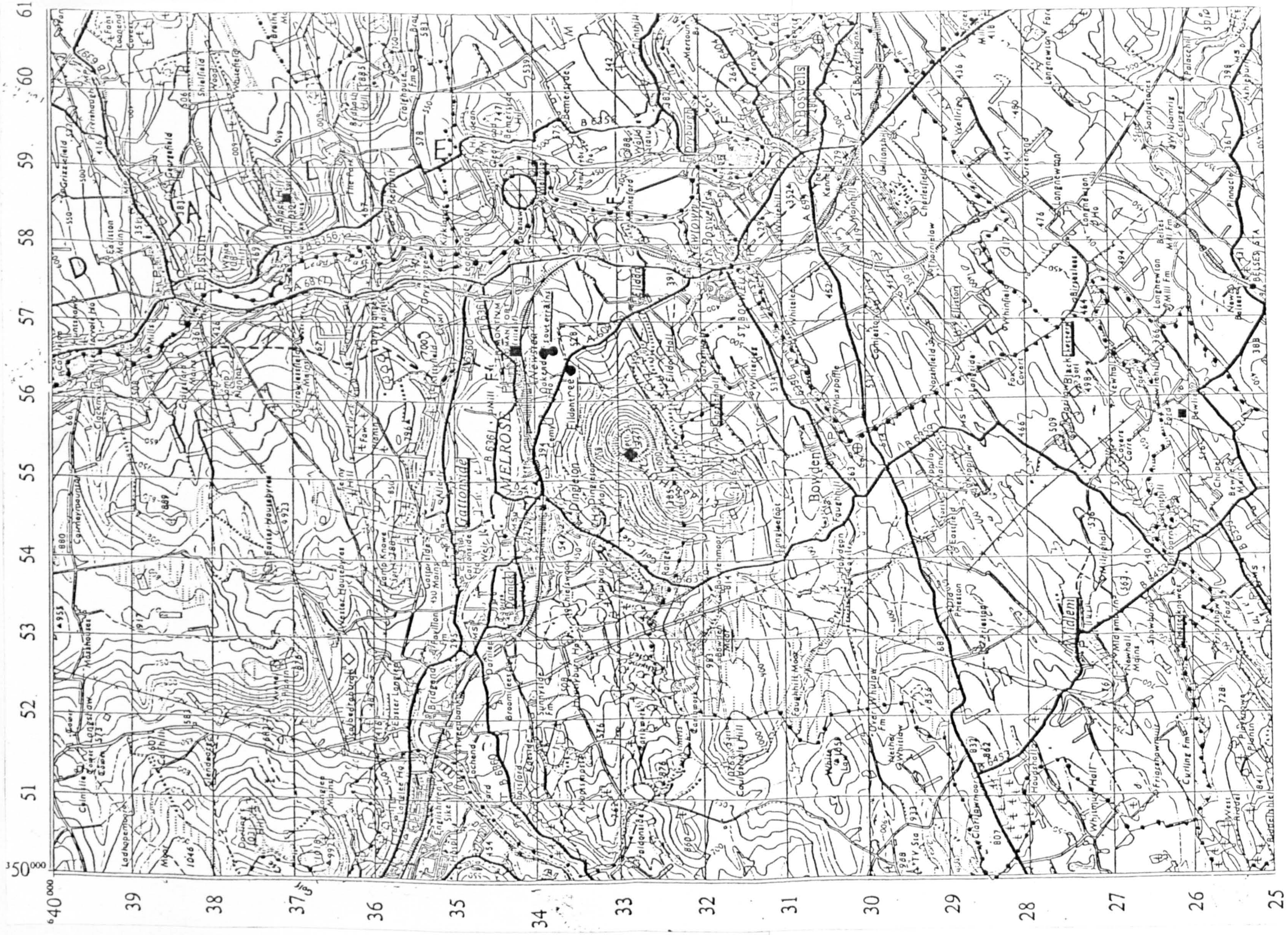
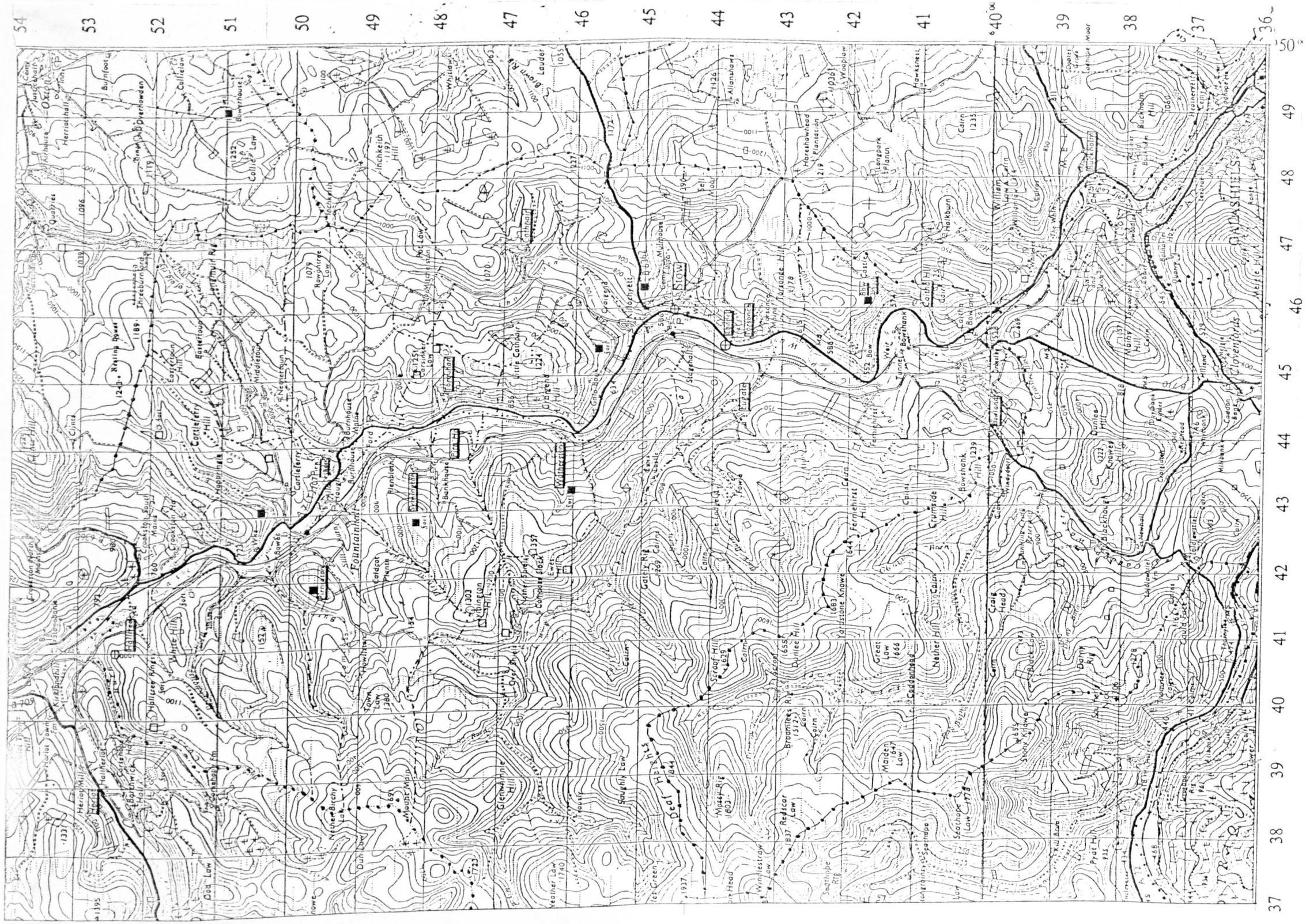

The Land south of the Teviot and associated with Jedburgh
0
10km
County boundary and Teviot-Liddle watershed
Contours at 122 metres
Ale
Ashkirk
Tronie Hill
Minto
Spittal on Rule
Teviot
Jedburgh
The Dunion
Jed
Bedrule
Rule
Scraesburgh
Cavers
Rubers law
Wilton
Hawick
Borthwick
Kirkton
Old Jedworth
Edgerston
Bonchester
Hobkirk
Tinnis
Southdean
Chisholm
Fenwick
Branxholm
"Catrail"
Northouse
Stoneyhelm
Allan
Slitrig
Carlenrig
Priestheught
"Catrail"

Figure I.5


MELROSE
Melrose
Bowden
Newtown St Boswells
Eildon Tree
Eildon Hall
Eildon Mid Hill
Eildon West Hill
Dingleton
Dingleton Hill
Ruberslaw
Lilliesleaf
Ettrick Forest
Longnewton
Whitehill
Kenleith
Charlesfield
Gattonside
Darnick
Abbotsford
Broomiehill
Sunnyside Fm
Bemersyde
Bemersyde Hill
Cairnhill
Cairnhill Moor
Faughhill Moor
Faughhill
Ormiston Hill
Ormiston Fm
Newhall
Newhall Mains
Curling Fm
Longnewton Mill Fm
Belses
Belses Mill Fm
Whitlaw
Whitlaw Mains
Whitlaw Hall
Whitlaw Law
Whitlaw Moss
Whitlaw Fm
Houghall
Houghall Fm
Eastfield
Eastfield Fm
Northfield
Northfield Fm
Plantation
Plantation Fm
Fox Covert
Fox Covert Fm
Blackchesters
Blackchesters Fm
Longnewton Fm
Longnewton Covert
Longnewton Plantation
Sandystacks
Sandystacks Fm
Pinnacle
Pinnacle Fm
Palace Hill
Ashspurn
Ashspurn Fm
Ashspurn Plantation
Ashspurn Hill
Ashspurn Hill Fm
Ashspurn Hill Plantation
Ashspurn Hill Covert


STOW
Fountainhall
Clovenfords
Deal Hill
Dod Law
Caddonhead Rig
Meikle Hill
Windlestraw Law
Redscar Law
Scrape
Scrape Rig
Scrape Law
Scrape Hill
Scrape Knowe
Scrape Moor
Scrape Burn
Scrape Cairn
Scrape Head
Scrape Edge
Scrape Plantation
Scrape Farm
Scrape Cottage
Scrape Bridge
Scrape Ford
Scrape Mill
Scrape Castle
Scrape Church
Scrape Manse
Scrape School
Scrape Inn
Scrape Hotel
Scrape Station
Scrape Road
Scrape Lane
Scrape Path
Scrape Track
Scrape Gate
Scrape Wall
Scrape Fence
Scrape Hedge
Scrape Ditch
Scrape Dyke
Scrape Bank
Scrape Slope
Scrape Face
Scrape Top
Scrape Foot
Scrape Side
Scrape Corner
Scrape Angle
Scrape Point
Scrape Line
Scrape Curve
Scrape Circle
Scrape Square
Scrape Rectangle
Scrape Triangle
Scrape Polygon
Scrape Star
Scrape Cross
Scrape Arrow
Scrape Symbol
Scrape Letter
Scrape Number
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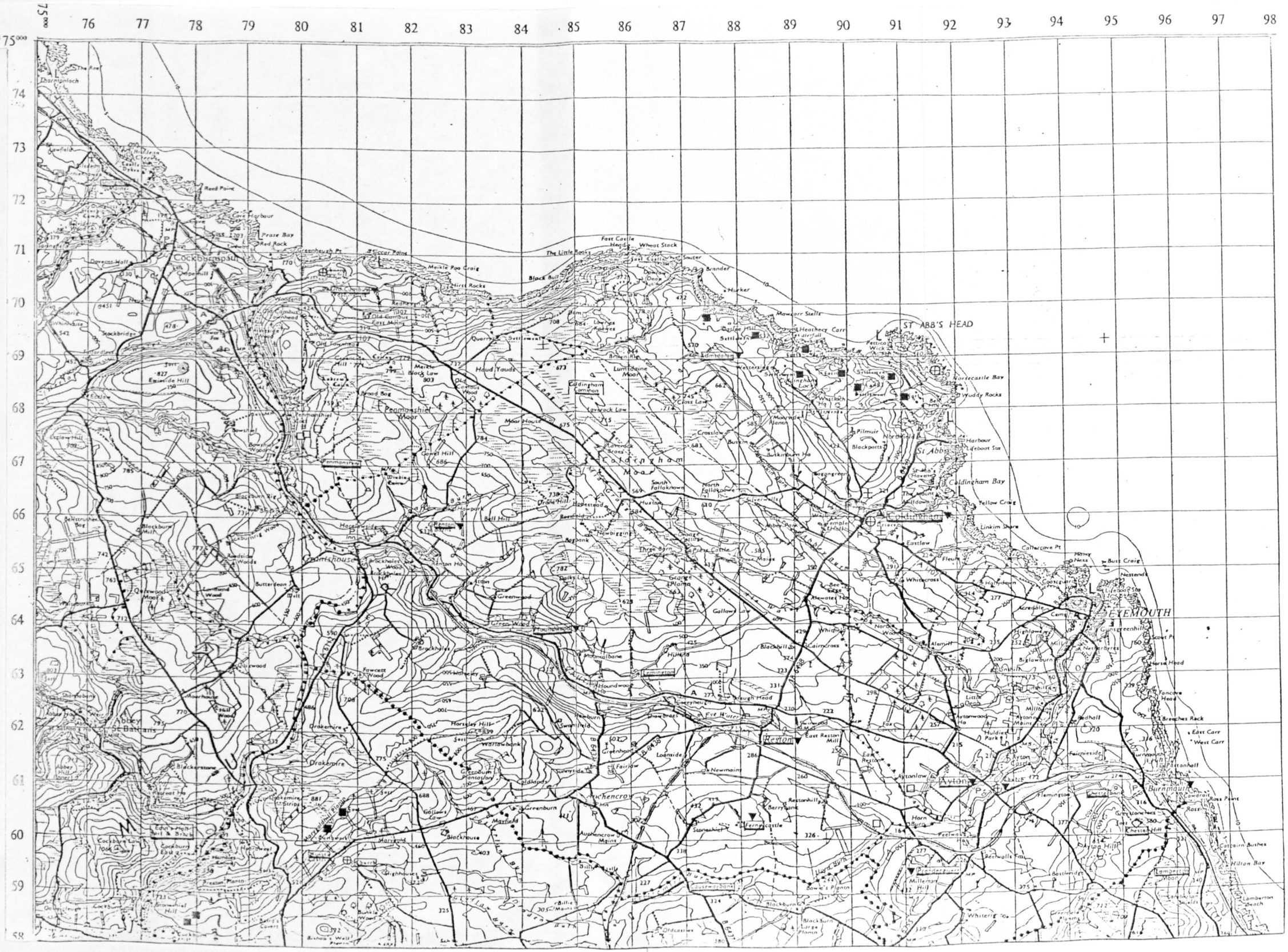


Figure I.8

The Land around Coldingham

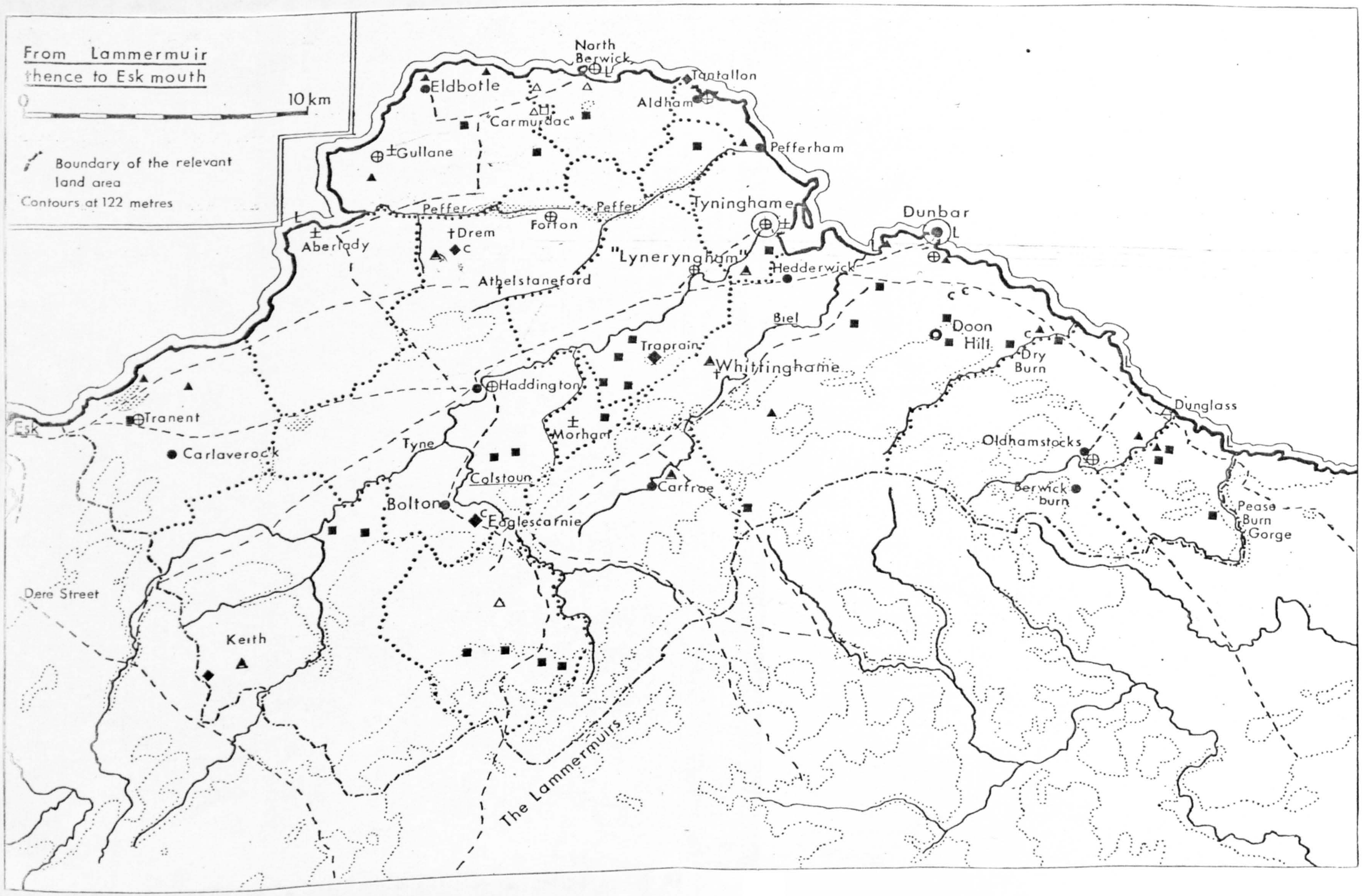
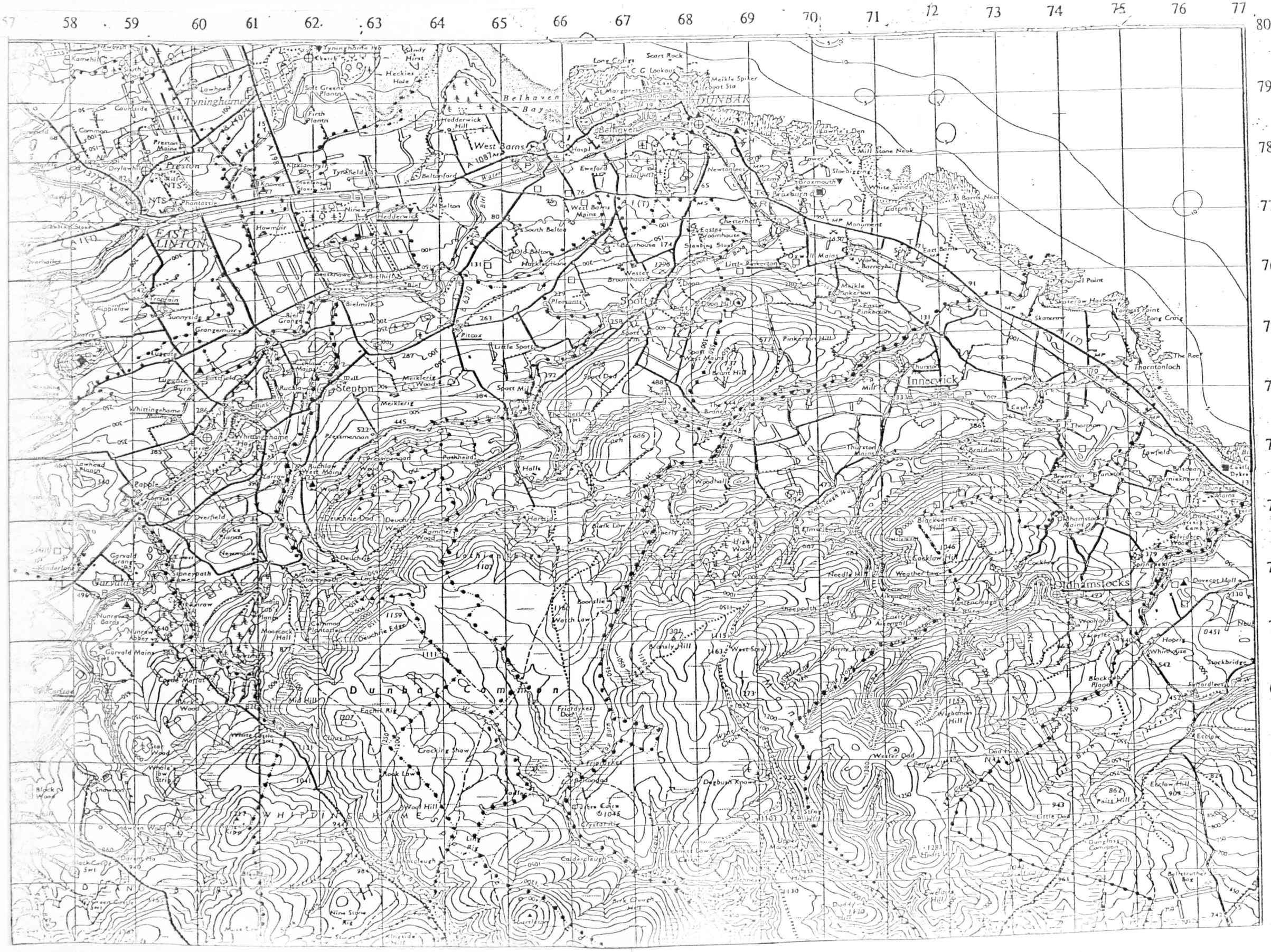

From Lammermuir
thence to Esk mouth
0
10 km
Boundary of the relevant land area
Contours at 122 metres
North Berwick
Eldbotle
Tantallon
Aldham
"Carmuirdac"
Gullane
Pefferham
Peffer
Peffer
Tyninghame
Dunbar
Fortun
Drem
Aberlady
"Lynerynghame"
Hedderwick
Athelstaneford
Biel
Doon Hill
Dry Burn
Traprain
Whittinghame
Haddington
Tranent
Esk
Carlaverock
Morham
Tyne
Dunglass
Oldhamstocks
Colstoun
Carfrae
Bolton
Eaglescarnie
Berwick burn
Pease Burn Gorge
Dere Street
Keith
The Lammermuirs

Figure I.9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68
67
66
Tyninghame
Preston
EAST LINTON
Belhaven Bay
DUNBAR
West Barns
Spott
Stenton
Innerwick
Oldhamstocks
Dunbar Common
WHITECHAME
Scart Rock
Meikle Spiker
Mill Stone Neak
Broxmouth
Chapel Point
Skateraw Harbour
Thorntonloch
Pinkerton Hill
Brunt Hill
Meikle Pinkerton
Easter Pinkerton
Thurston
Thurston Mains
Braidwood
Blackcastle Hill
Cocklaw Hill
Weather Law
Needle Hill
Whitchester
Whittingehame
Lawhead
Deuchrie Dod
Deuchrie Edge
Garvald
Garvald Grange
Garvald Mains
Nunraw
Nunraw Barns
Nunraw Abbey
Boonslie
Watch Law
Bransly Hill
West Seed
Birny Knowe
Wigtaman Hill
Dogburn Knowe
Stine Hill
Dod Hill
Ewelaws Hill
Cockburn Law
Crystal Rig
Cranshaws
Whiteadder Water
Dunglass Common
Belltrutherbog
Eccles
Eccles Hill
Pouis Hill
Whitchester
Whitchester Burn
Whittingehame House
Whittingehame Mains
Lawhead Mains
Ruchlaw
Ruchlaw West Mains
Ruchlaw Burn
Deuchrie Wood
Rammer Wood
Clark Law
Harkside
Halls
Woodhall
Meiklerig
Meiklerig Wood
Pressmennan
Parkhead
Pitcox
Little Spott
Spott Mill
Spott Dod
Spott Burn
Spott West Mains
Spott Common
Broomhouse
Easter Broomhouse
Standing Stone
Bearhouse
Old Belton
South Belton
West Barns Mains
Belton
Belton Ford
Belton Mains
Hedderwick
Hedderwick Hill
Newtonlees
Ewford
Halyhill
Chesterhill
Little Pinkerton
Work Barnyhill
Tynefield
Phantassie
Hawmair
Biel
Bielmilk
Biel Granges
Grangemuirs
Sunnyside
Kippielaw
Eastfield
Lyreslie Burn
Whittingehame Main
Whittingehame Haugh
Whittingehame Tower
Overfield
Birks Manor
Newmains
Stonepath
Stonepath Lodge
Garvald Grange
Garvald Mains
Nunraw Barns
Nunraw Abbey
Mooracks Hall
Deuchrie Edge
Deuchrie Plantation
Mid Hill
Eachit Rig
Cracking Shaw
Rook Law
Wool Hill
Friardykes Dod
Friardykes
Friardykes Burn
Whiteadder Burn
Whiteadder Head
Whiteadder Reservoir
Whole Law Strip
Star Wood
Black Wood
Snawdon
Snawdon Wood
Dirrington Great
Dirrington Little
Black Cairn
Green Cairn
Hare Cairn
Hare Cairn 1045
Hare Stane Rig
Line Rig
Calder Cleugh
Burn Cleugh
Dod Law
Dod Law 1130
Dunglass Burn
Belltrutherbog Burn
Eccles Burn
Eccles Hill 909
Pouis Hill 862
Little Dod 943
Dod Hill 1153
Wester Dod
Hoprig
Whithaugh
Whithaugh 542
Stockbridge
Blackadder Plaga
Sunnyledge
Blackadder Water
Blackadder Head
Blackadder Reservoir
Dowlaw
Dowlaw Dod
Dowlaw Burn
Dowlaw Bog
Dowlaw Bog 1200
Dowlaw Dod 1420
Dowlaw Dod 1300
Dowlaw Dod 1250
Dowlaw Dod 1200
Dowlaw Dod 1100
Dowlaw Dod 1000
Dowlaw Dod 950
Dowlaw Dod 900
Dowlaw Dod 850
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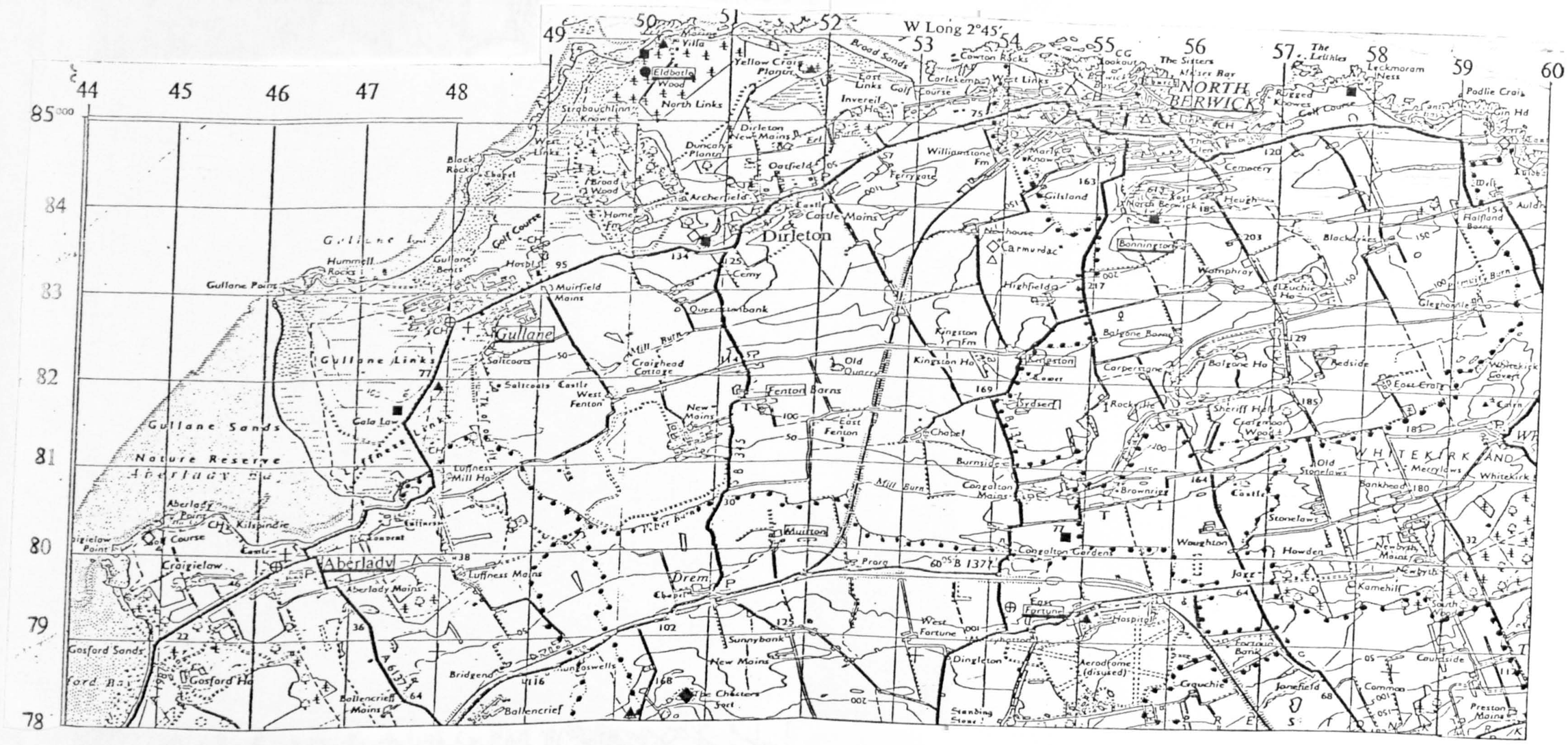
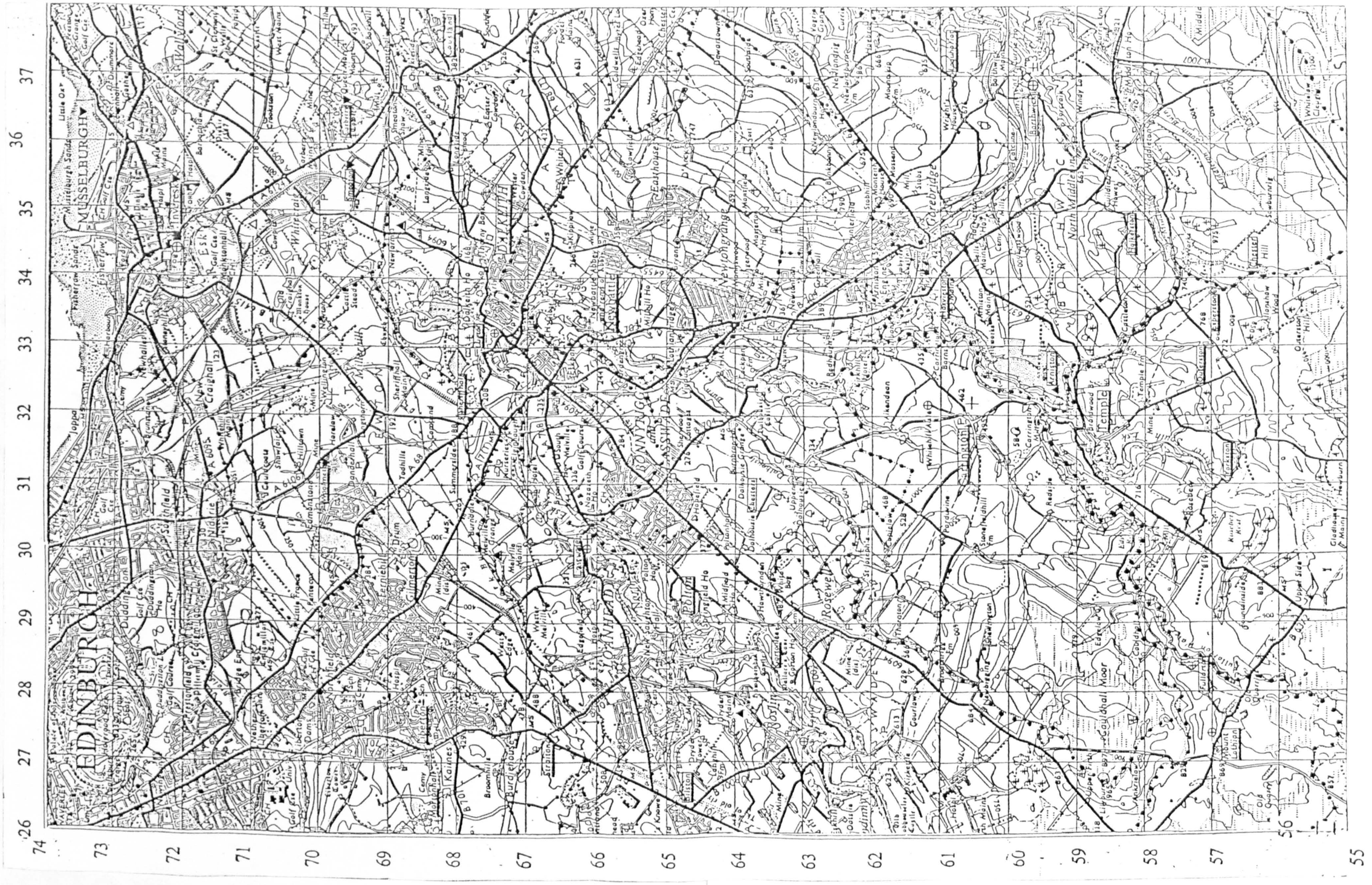


Figure I.11

Aberlady, Gullane and North Berwick


EDINBURGH
MUSSELBURGH
PORTOBELLO
DUDDINGSTON
NEWINGTON
NEWINGTON
Craiglockhart
Craiglockhart Hill
Craiglockhart Pond
Craiglockhart Dell
Craiglockhart Quarry
Craiglockhart Poss
Craiglockhart Hill
Craiglockhart Hill
Craiglockhart Hill

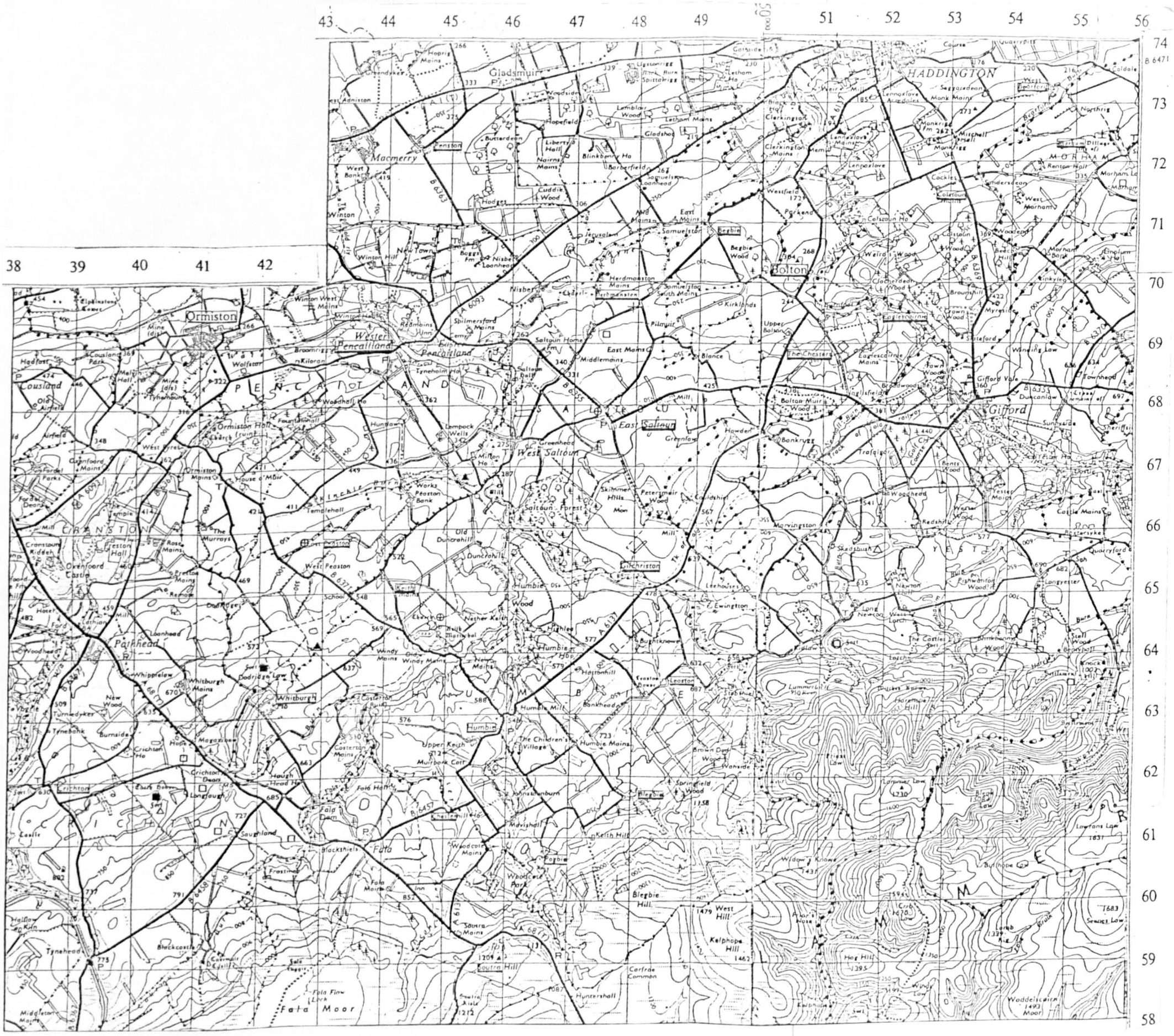


Figure I.13

Crichton, Humbie and Bolton

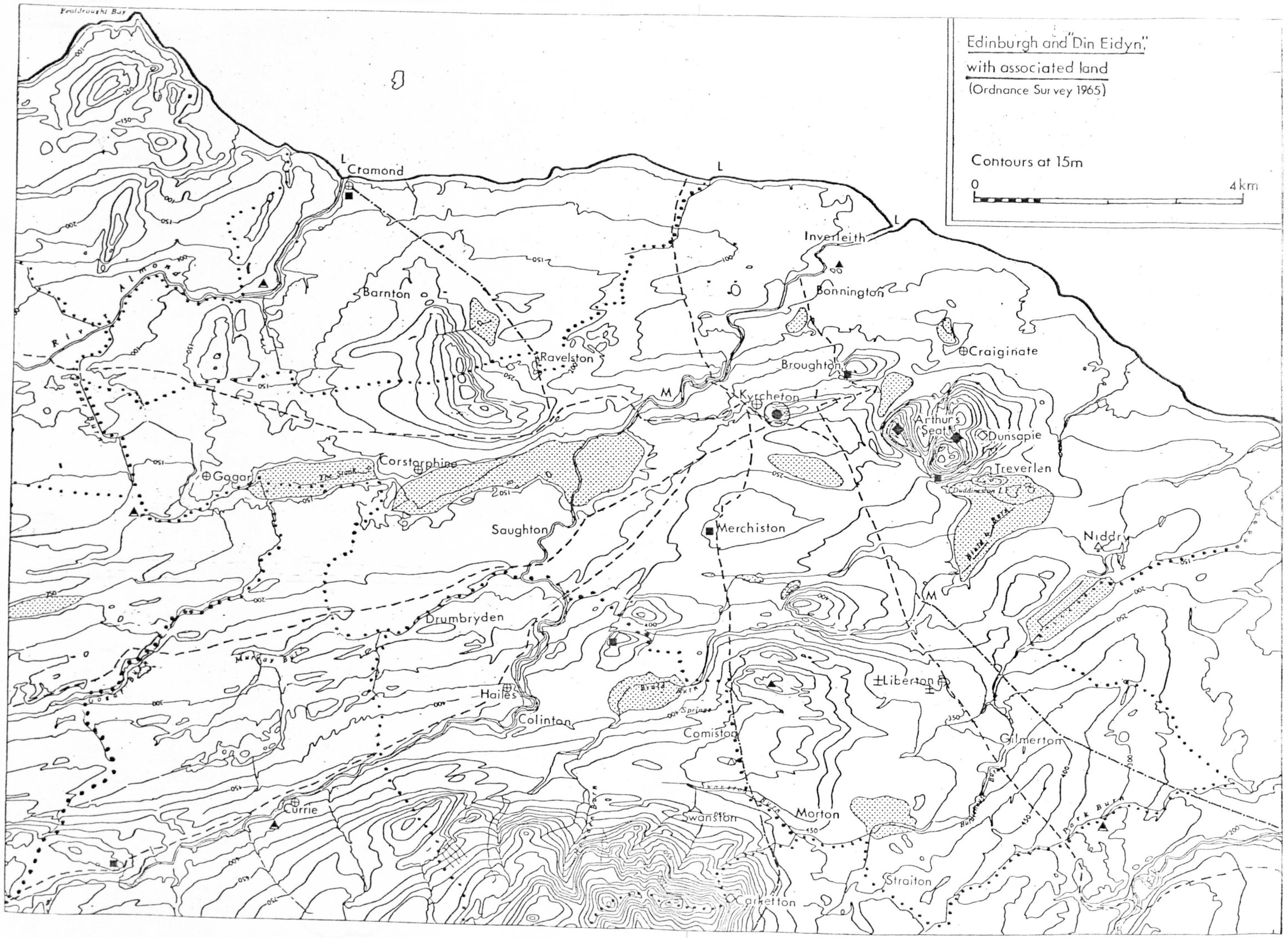

Edinburgh and "Din Eidyn,"
with associated land
(Ordnance Survey 1965)
Contours at 15m
0
4 km
Cramond
Barnton
Ravelston
Inverleith
Bonnington
Craiginate
Broughton
Kyrcheton
Arthur's Seat
Dunsapie
Treverlen
Corstorphine
Gogar
Saughton
Merchiston
Drumbryden
Hailes
Colinton
Comiston
Liberton
Gilmerton
Currie
Swanston
Morton
Straiton
Carketton

Figure I.14

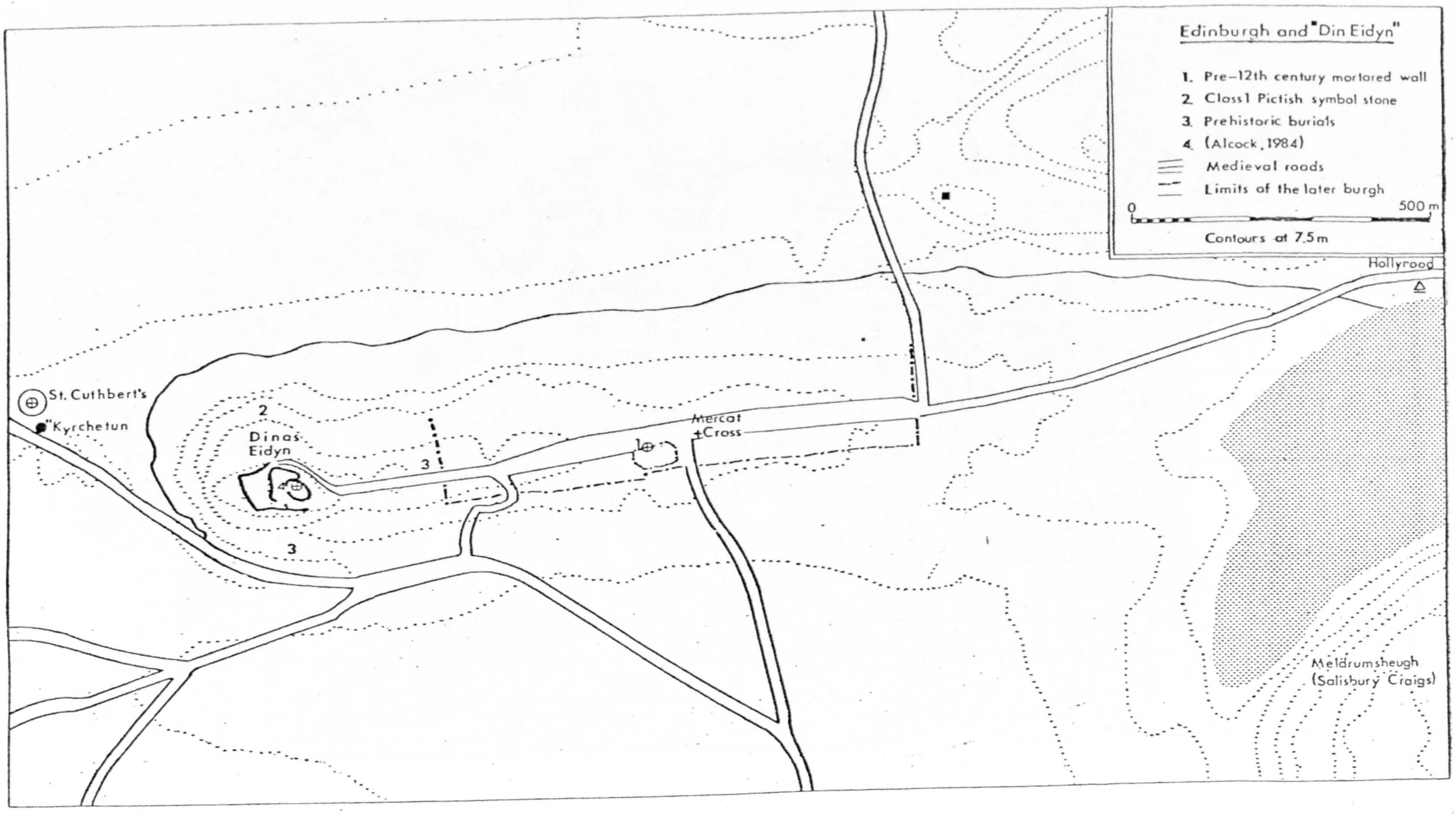
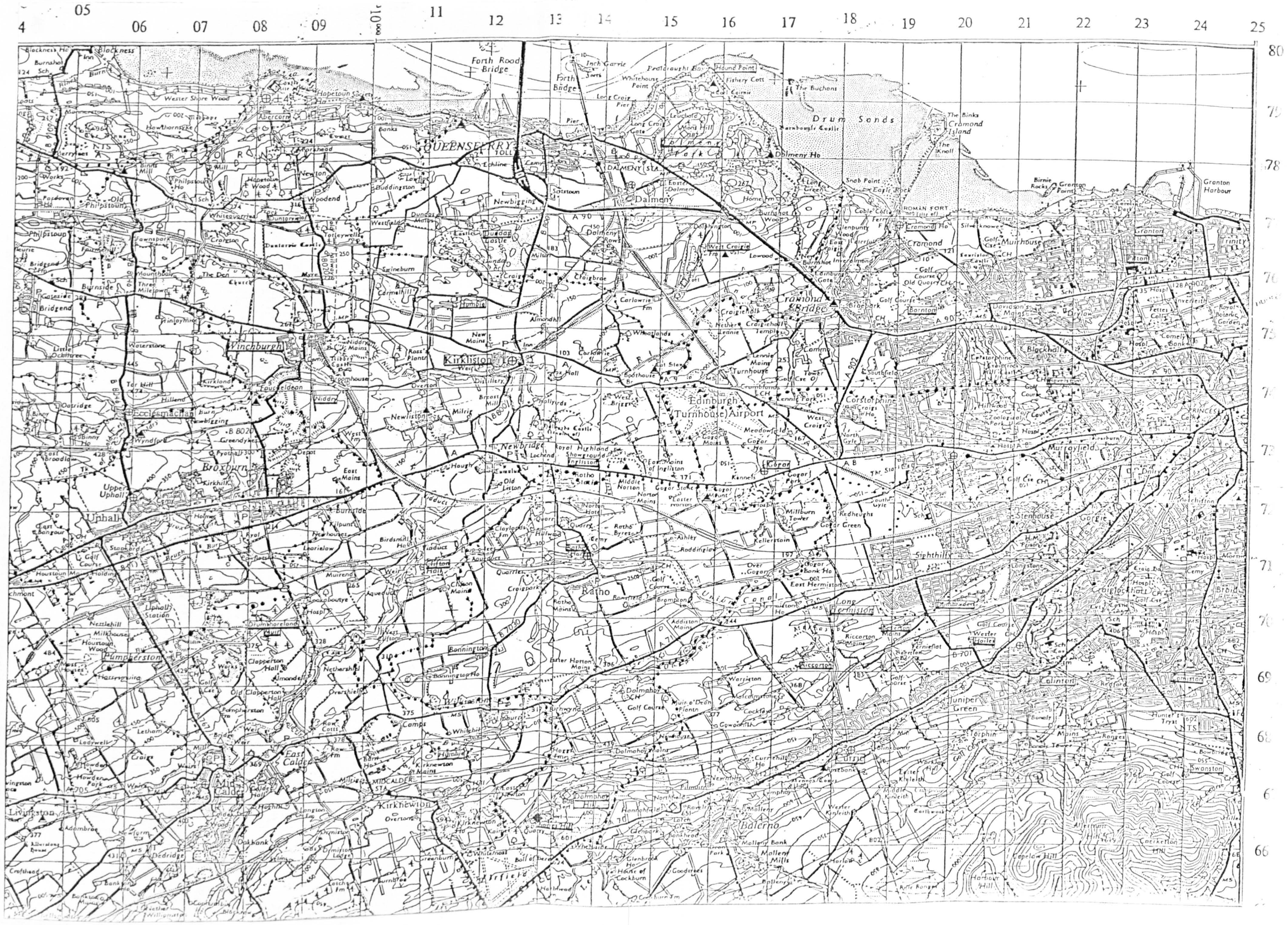

Edinburgh and "Din Eidyn"
1. Pre-12th century mortared wall
2. Class1 Pictish symbol stone
3. Prehistoric burials
4. (Alcock, 1984)
Medieval roads
Limits of the later burgh
0
500 m
Contours at 7.5m
Hollyrood
St. Cuthbert's
"Kyrchetun
Dinas
Eidyn
Mercat
+Cross
Meldrumsheugh
(Salisbury Craigs)

Figure I.15


Forth Road Bridge
QUEENSFERRY
Dalmeny
Cramond Bridge
Kirkliston
Winchburgh
Broxburn
Uphall
Ratho
Edinburgh (Turnhouse) Airport
Drum Sands
Cramond
Davidson's Mains
Blackhall
Corstorphine
Murrayfield
Stenhouse
Sighthill
Juniper Green
Colinton
Long Dalmeny
Pumpherston
Mid Calder
East Calder
Kirknewton
Livingston
Balerno
Currie
Granton Harbour
Trinity
Muirhouse
Silverknowe
Barnton
Cramond Island
The Binks
Inch Garvie
Hound Point
Dalmeny Ho
Dalmeny Park
Dalmeny Sta.
Forth Bridge
Pier
Long Craig
Leuchold
Mons Hill
Barnbougle Castle
Snab Point
Eagle Rock
Cable Cott
ROMAN FORT (site of)
Cramond Ho
Golf Course
Old Quarry
Golf Course CH
Craigieburn
Craigiehall
Craigiehall Temple
Turnhouse
Turnhouse Golf Tower
Gogar
Gogar Mains
Gogar Ho
Gogar Park
Gogar Mount
Gogar Station
Gogar Bank Ho
Millburn Tower
Redheughs
Kellierstain
Roddinglaw
Ashley
Meadowfield
Corstorphine Croft
Corstorphine Ho
Zoological Park
Hillwood
Murrayfield Golf Cse
Ravelrig
Riccarton
Riccarton Mains
Heriot Mains
Heriot Hill
Dolmahoy
Dolmahoy Mains
Dolmahoy Hill
Dolmahoy Golf Course
Muir o'Dron Plantn
Cockfield
Gowkshill
Currichill
Currichill Ho
Torphin
Torphin Hill
Torphin Golf Course
Juniper Green
Mollend Bank
Mollend Mills
Mollend Park
Glenbrook Ho
House of Cockburn
Goodtrees
Capelaw Hill
Harbour Hill
Cockleton Hill
Allermuir Hill
Allermuir Wood
Kwonston
Hunter's Tryst
Colinton Golf Course
Wester Hailes
Wester Hailes Golf Course
Wester Hailes Park
Wester Hailes Ho
Wester Hailes Mains
Wester Hailes Quarry
Wester Hailes Golf Cse
Wester Kinleith
Middle Kinleith
Easter Kinleith
Kinleith Bonny
Kinleith Mains
Kinleith Ho
Kinleith Paper Works
Kinleith Golf Course
Kinleith Golf Cse
Kinleith Park

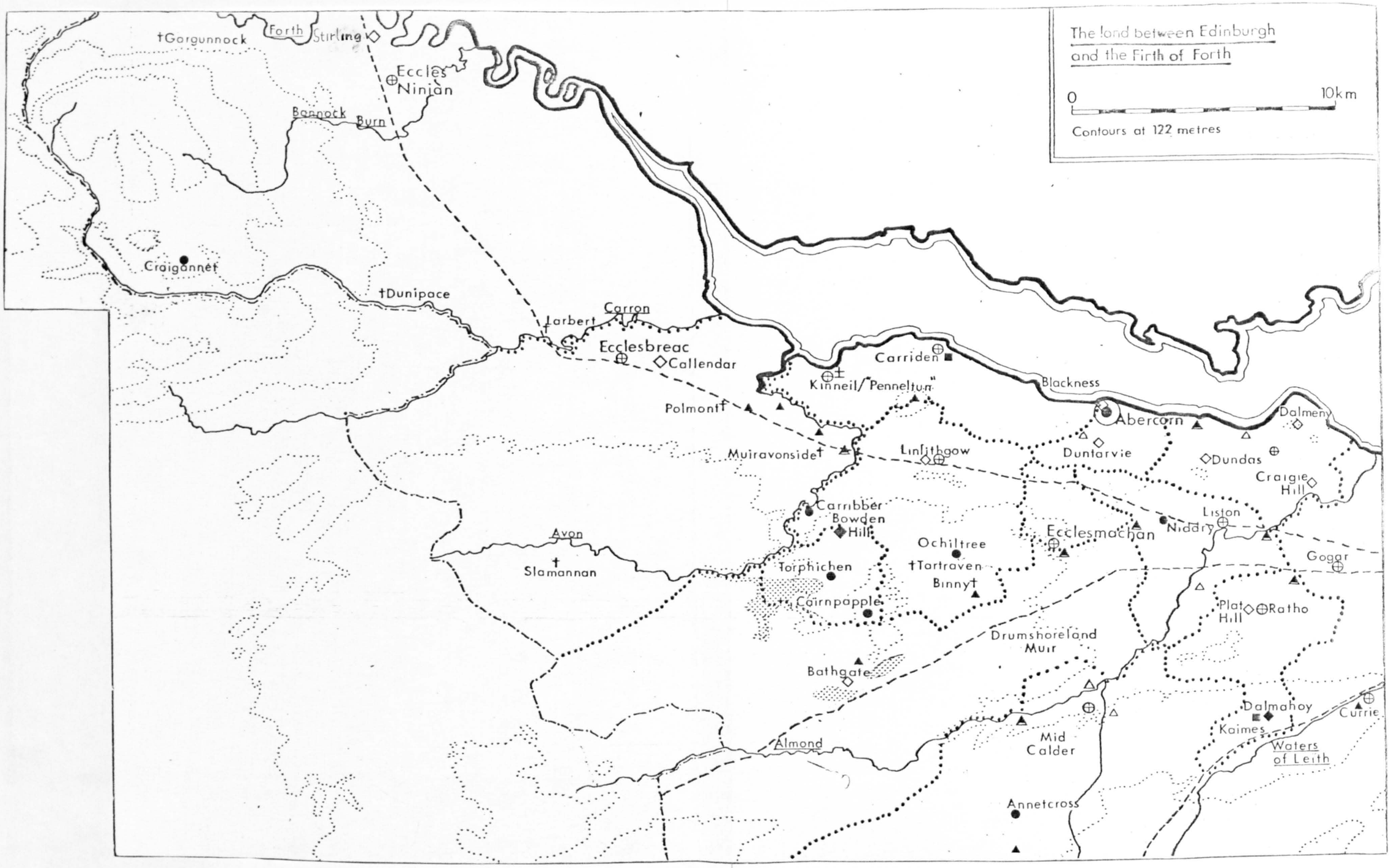

The land between Edinburgh and the Firth of Forth
0
10km
Contours at 122 metres
†Gargunnock
Forth
Stirling
Eccles
Ninian
Bannock
Burn
Craigannet
†Dunipace
Larbert
Carron
Ecclesbreac
Callendar
Carriden
Kinneil/"Penneltun"
Blackness
Polmont†
Muiravonside†
Linlithgow
Abercorn
Duntarvie
Dalmeny
Dundas
Craigie Hill
Liston
Niddry
Ecclesmachan
Gogar
Carribber
Bowden Hill
Ochiltree
†Tartraven
Binny†
Avon
†
Slamannan
Torphichen
Cairnpapple
Plat Hill
Ratho
Drumshoreland Muir
Bathgate
Dalmahoy
Currie
Kaimes
Waters of Leith
Almond
Mid Calder
Annetcross

Figure I.17

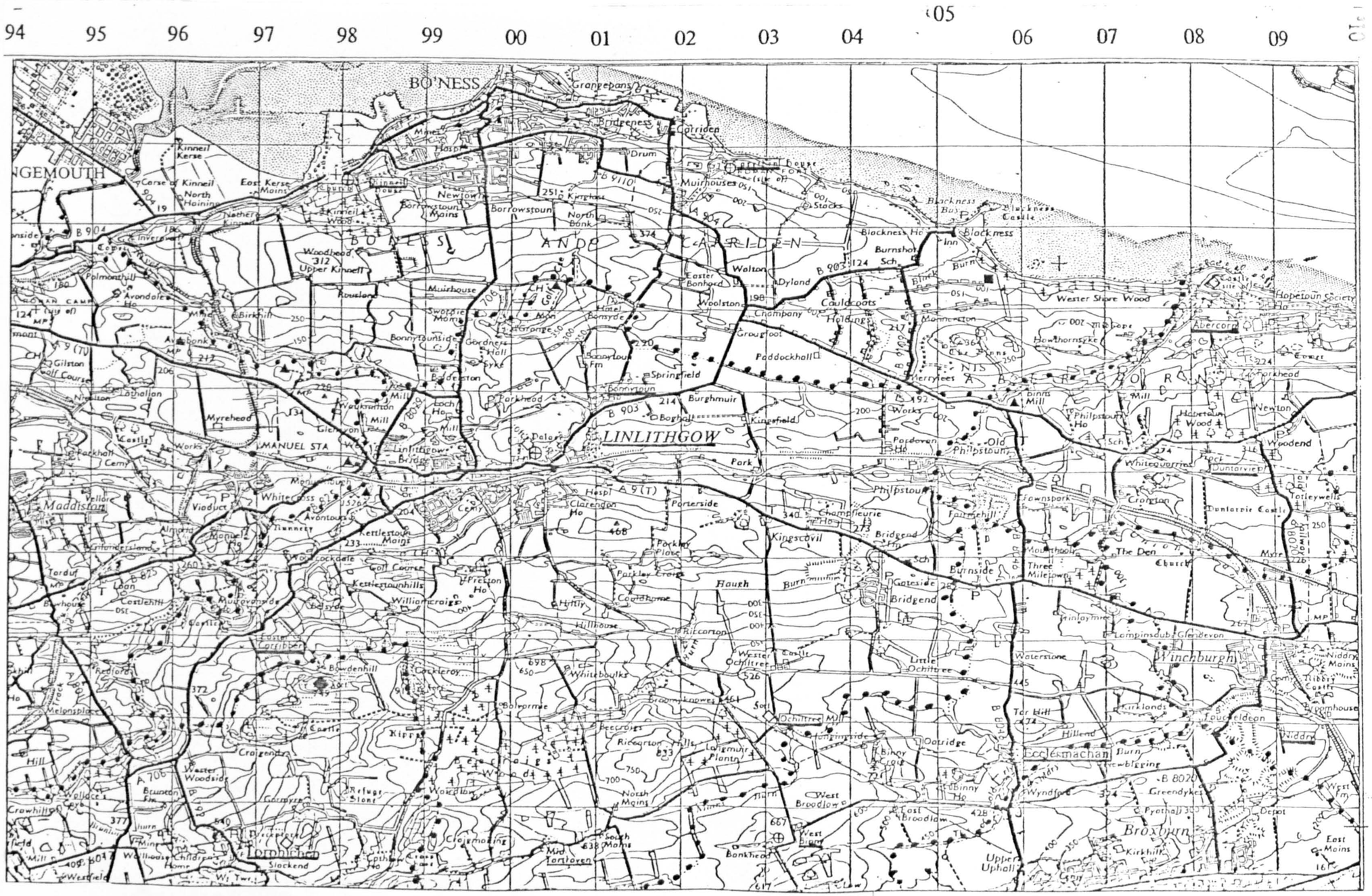
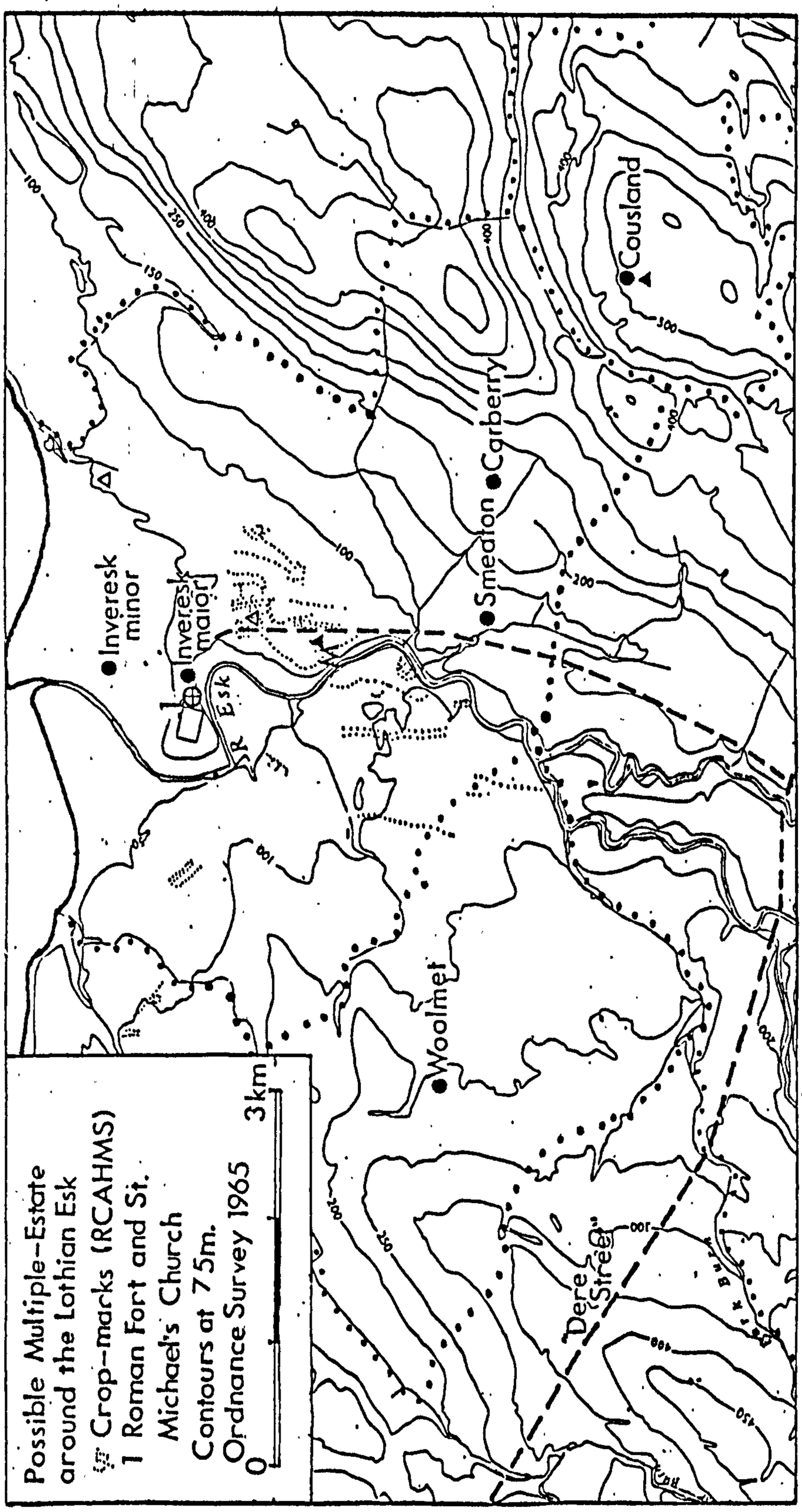
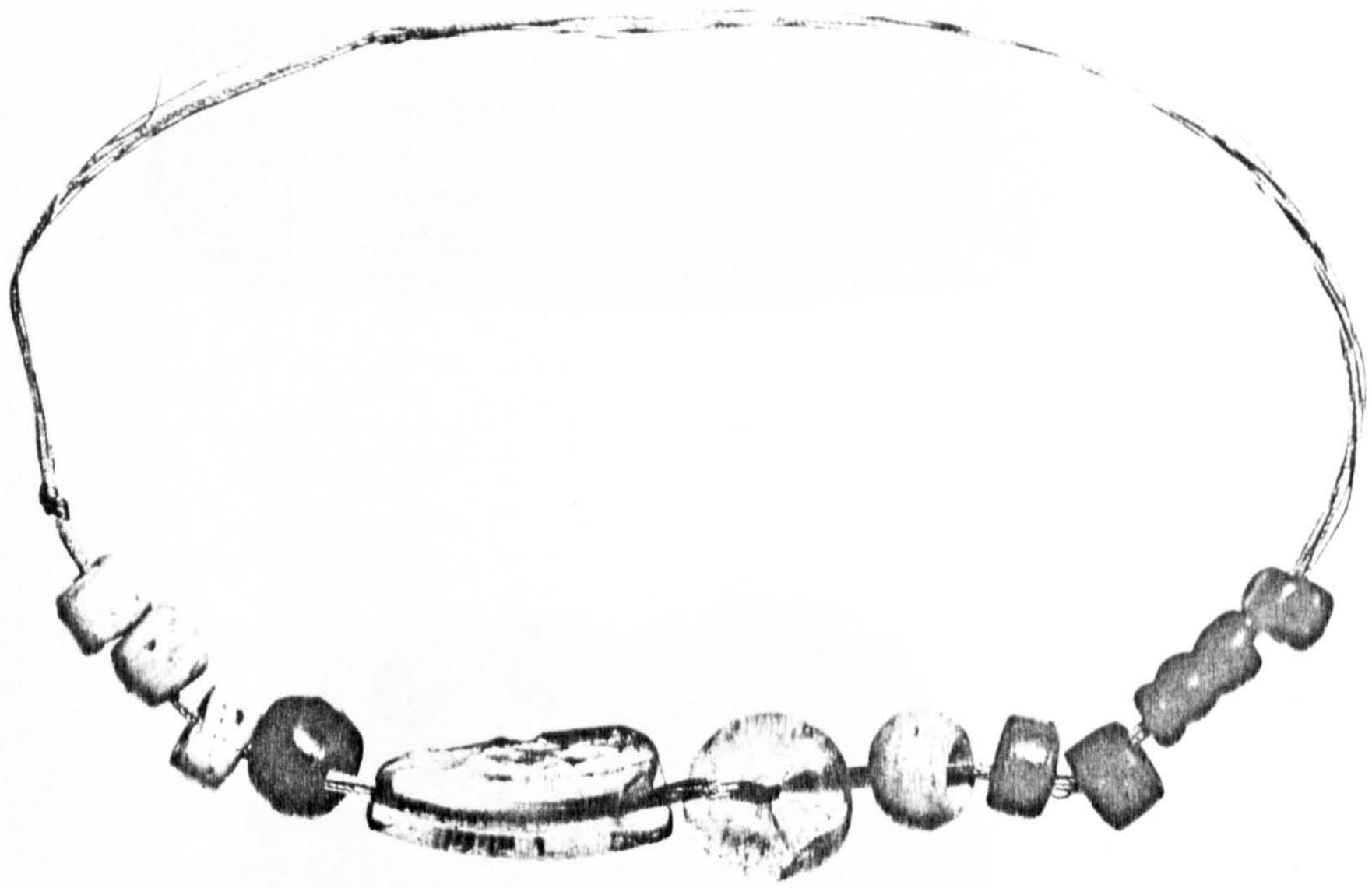


Figure I.18

Carriden, Kinneil and Linlithgow

Figure I.19


Possible Multiple-Estate
around the Lothian Esk
Crop-marks (RCAHMS)
1 Roman Fort and St.
Michael's Church
Contours at 75m.
Ordnance Survey 1965
0
3km
Inveresk minor
Inveresk major
R. Esk
Smeaton
Carberry
Cousland
Woolmet
Dere Street
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450



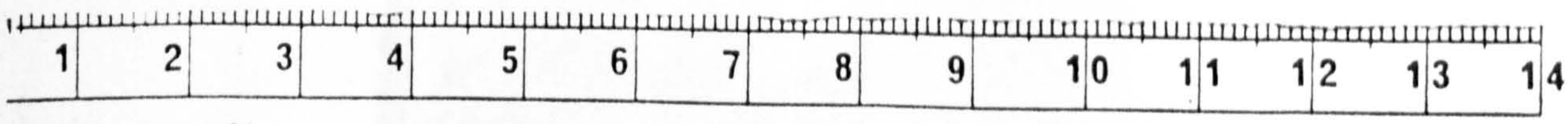
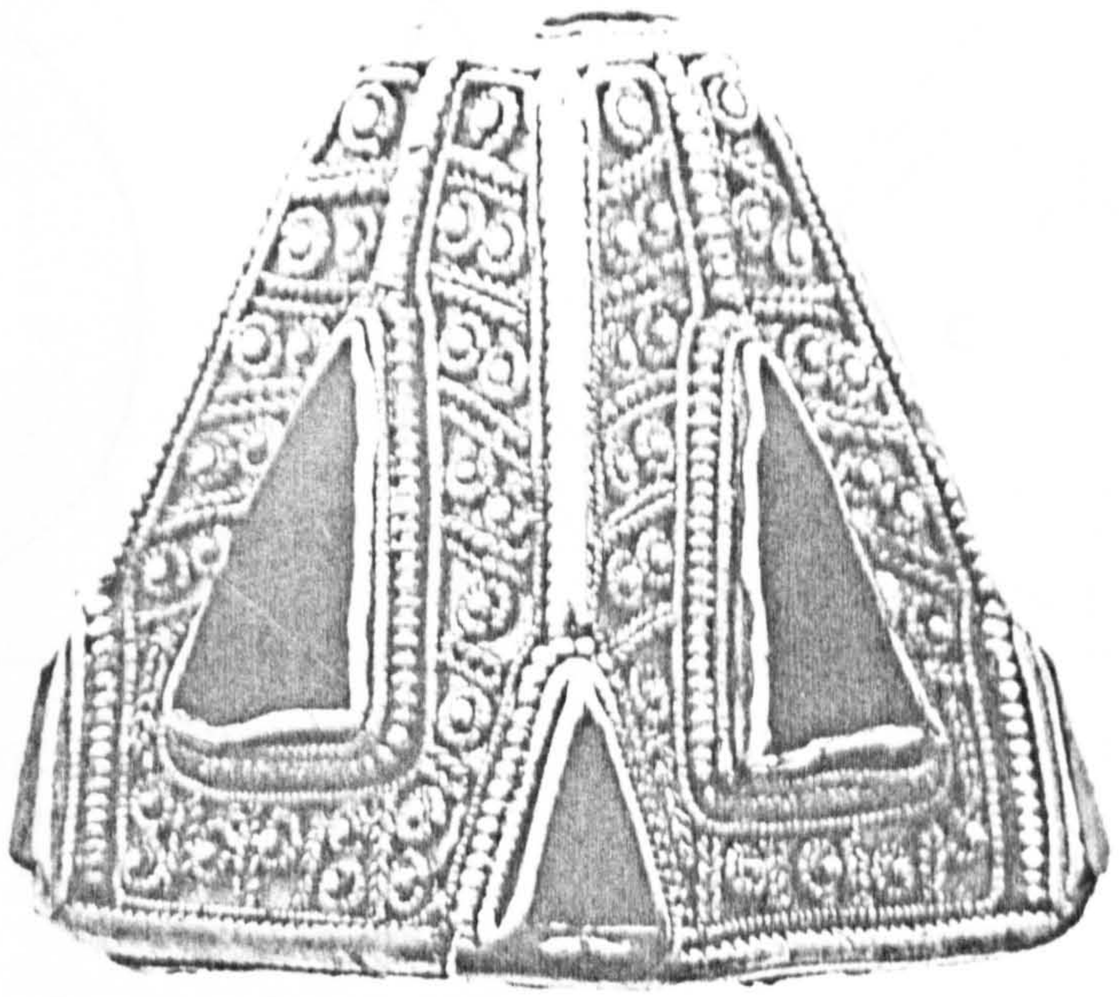
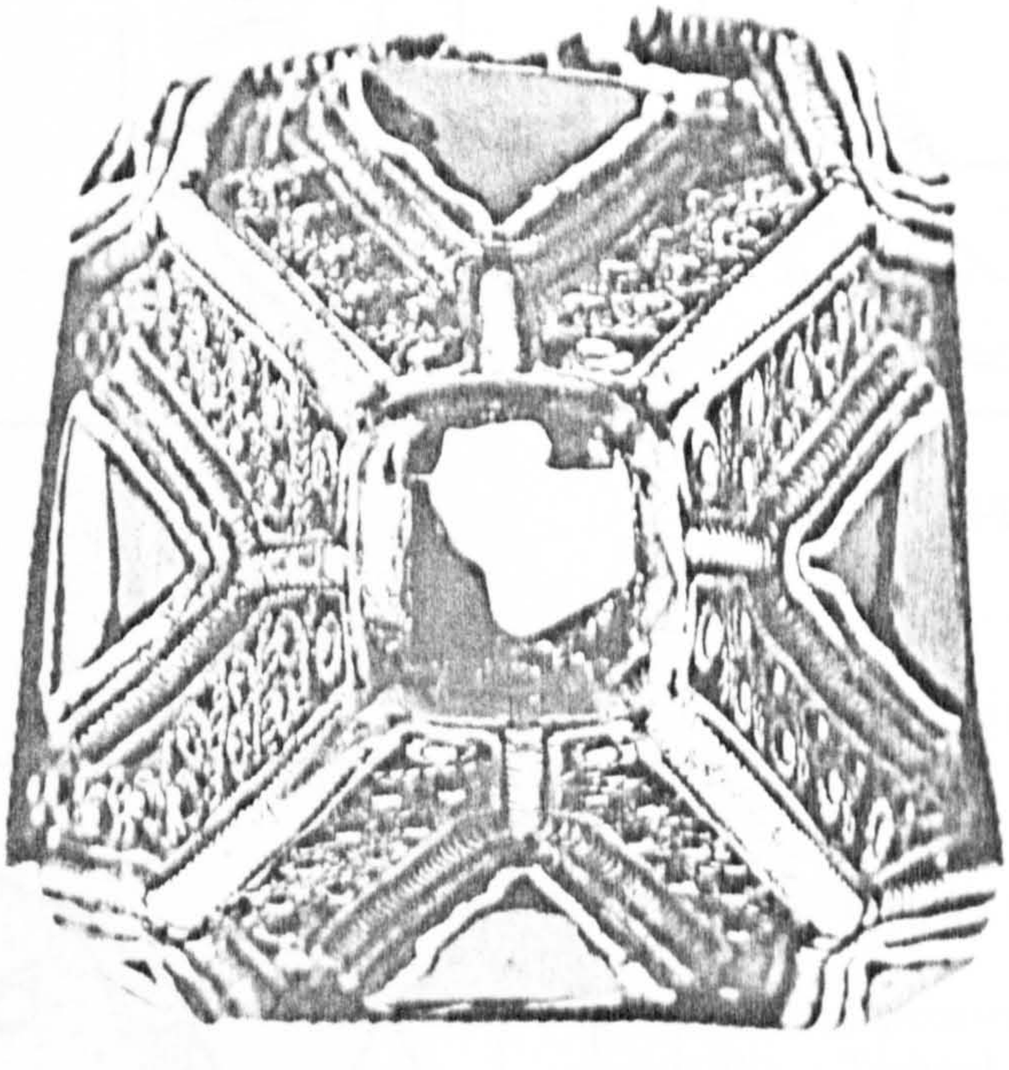


Figure II.1

Necklace from long-cist, Hound Point, Dalmeny, West Lothian (NMAS EQ 34-O)



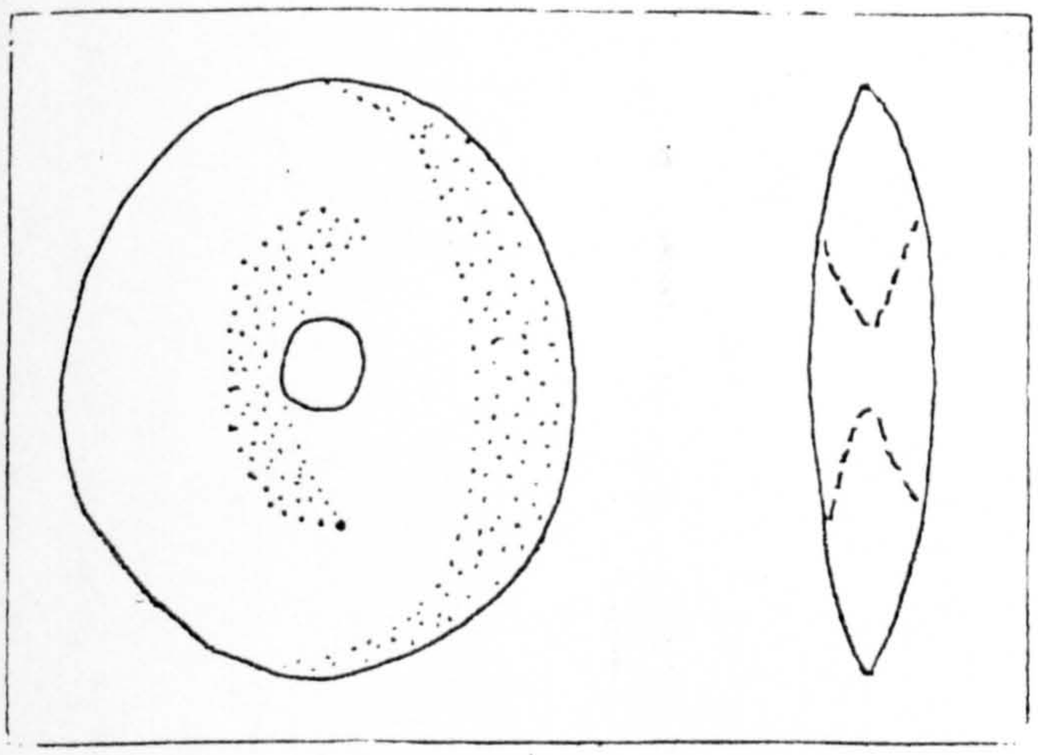
Side View



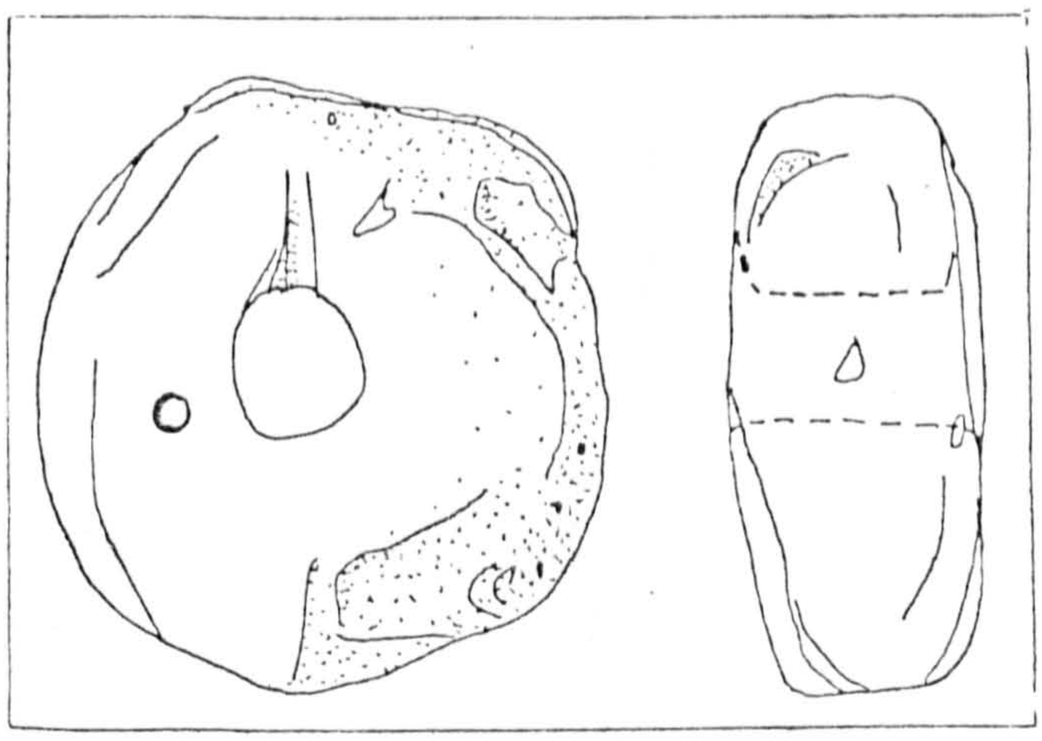
Top View

Figure II.2

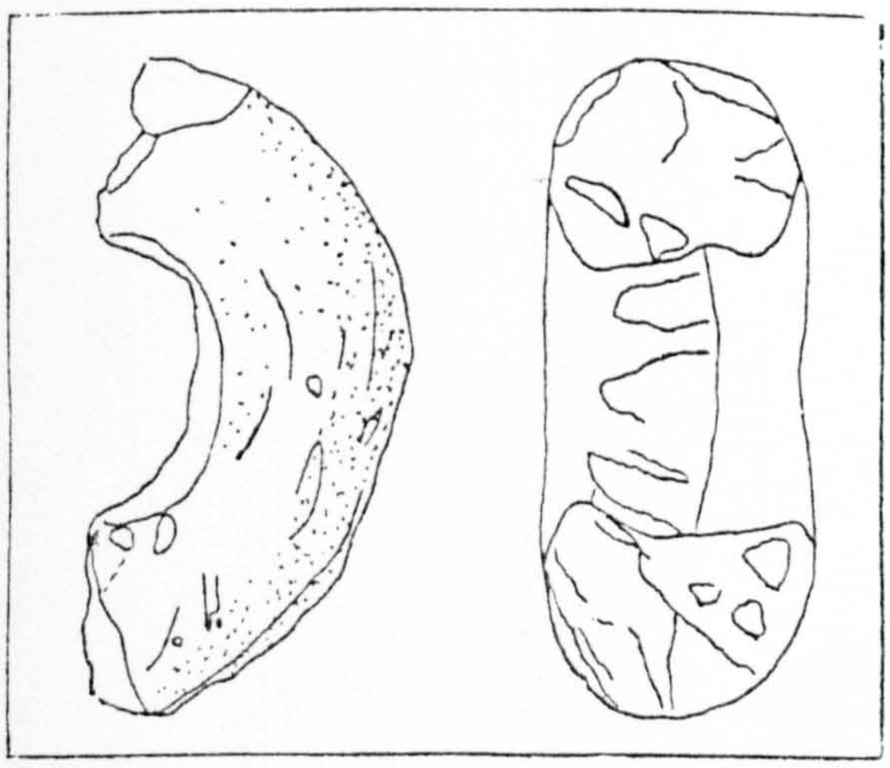
Gold and Garnet Pyramid from West Craigie, Dalmeny, West Lothian
(NMAS FE 50-5) Scale 5:1



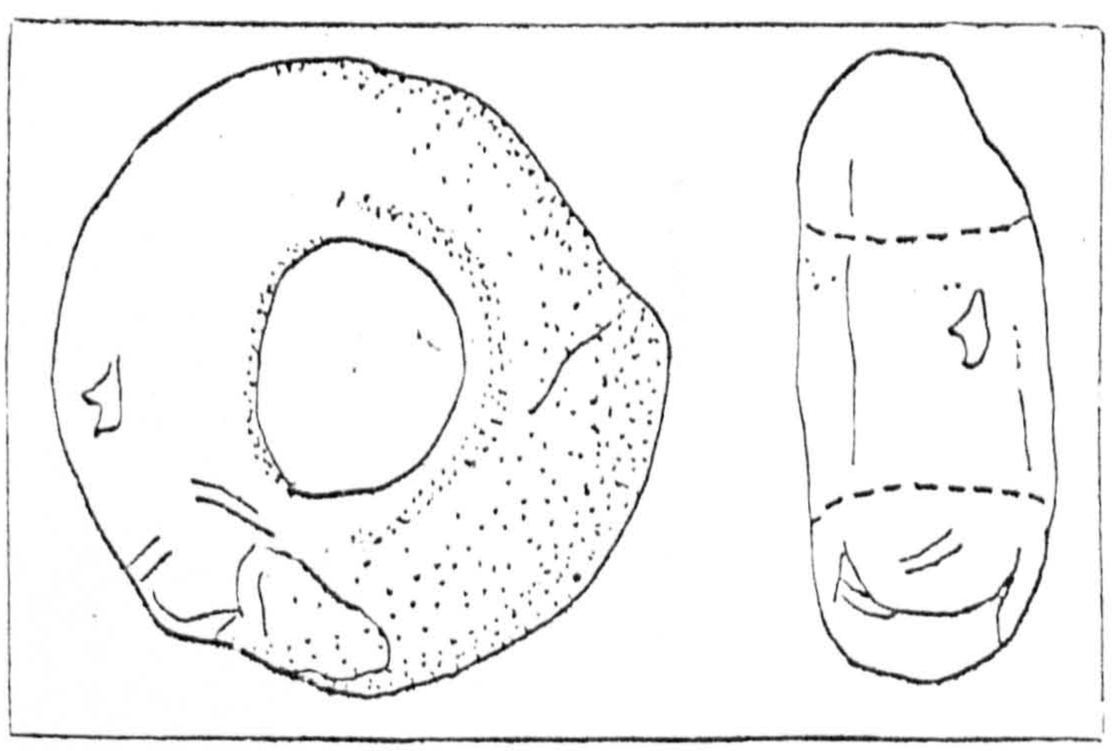
Stichill I (stone)



Stichill II

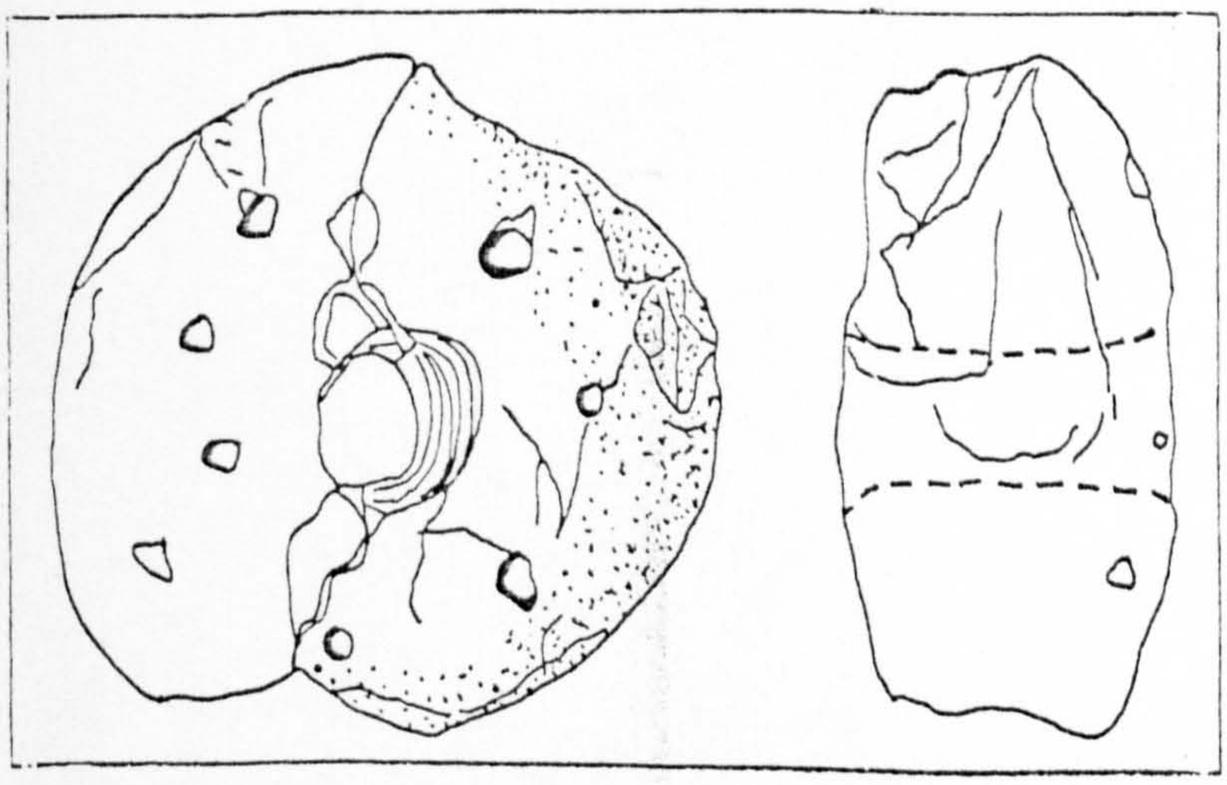


Stichill III



Chapelhaugh, Old Jeaworth

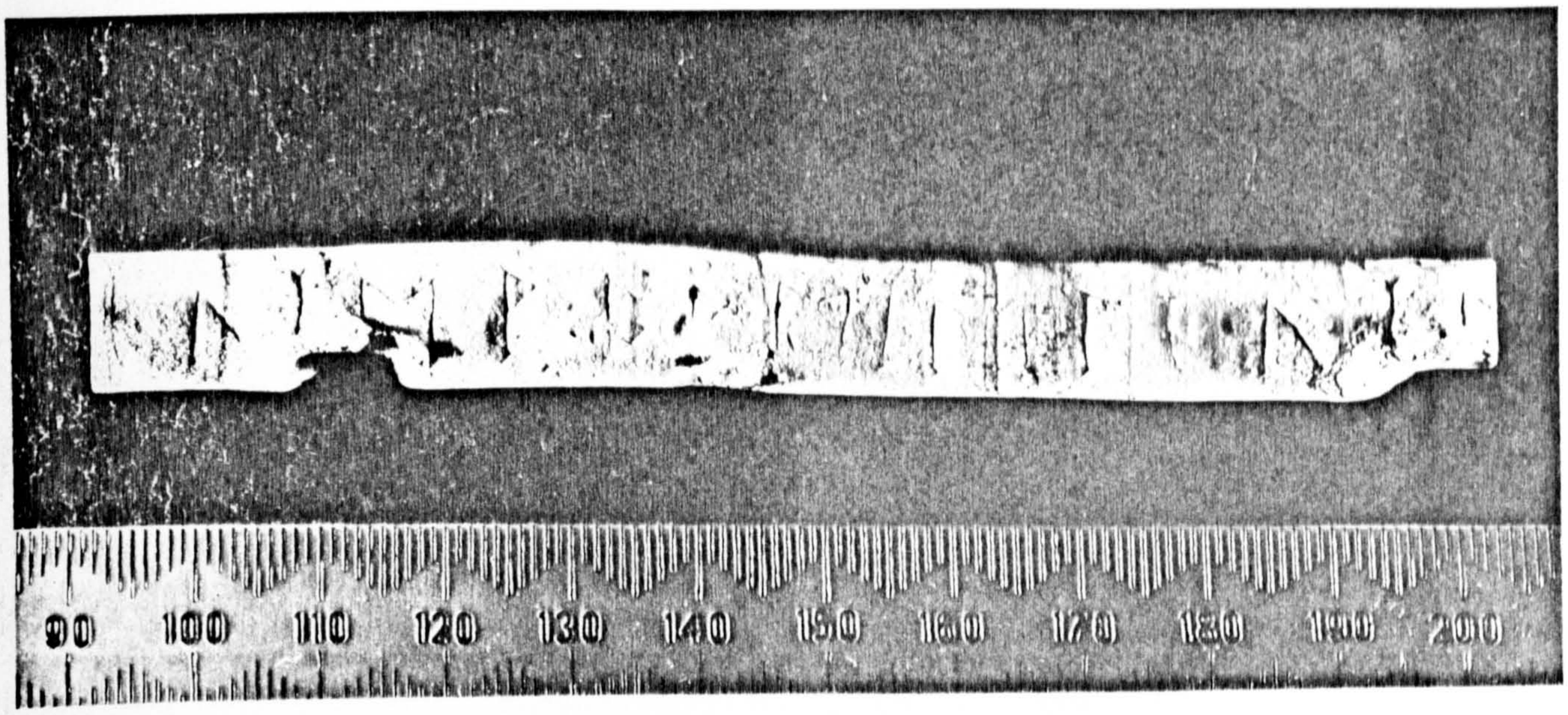
0 0.1m



Sourhope, Yetholm

Figure II.3

Loom-weights from the Middle Tweed basin (Baked Clay)



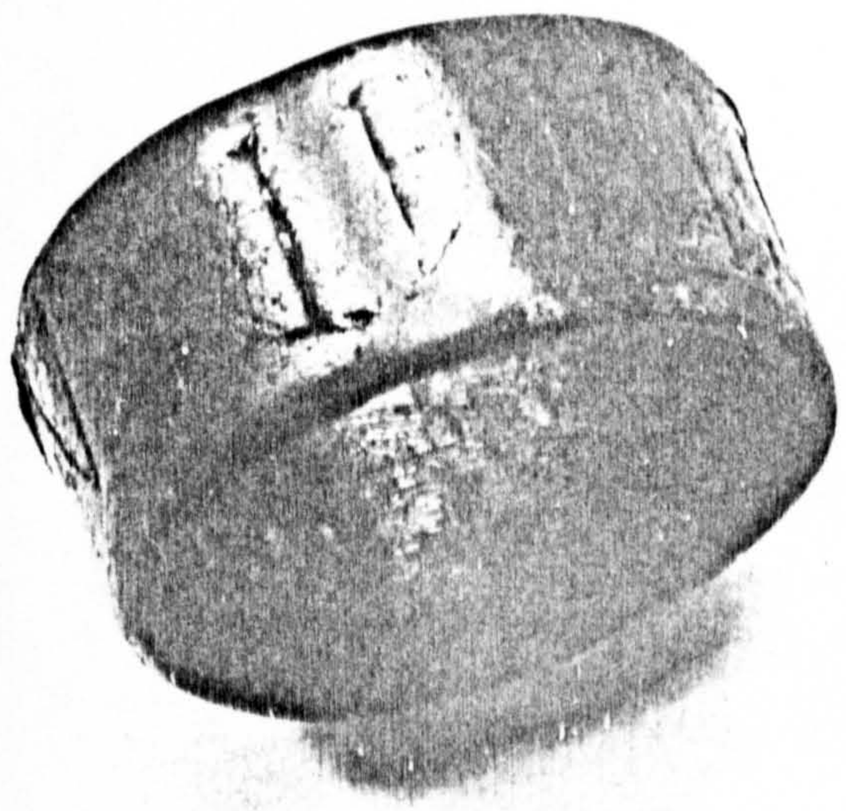


Figure II.4

Bronze Ring with Runes from Cramond, Midlothian (NMAS)

Figure II.5

Bronze Disc-Brooch with Enamel and Millefiori Decoration from Cramond, Midlothian (NMAS)

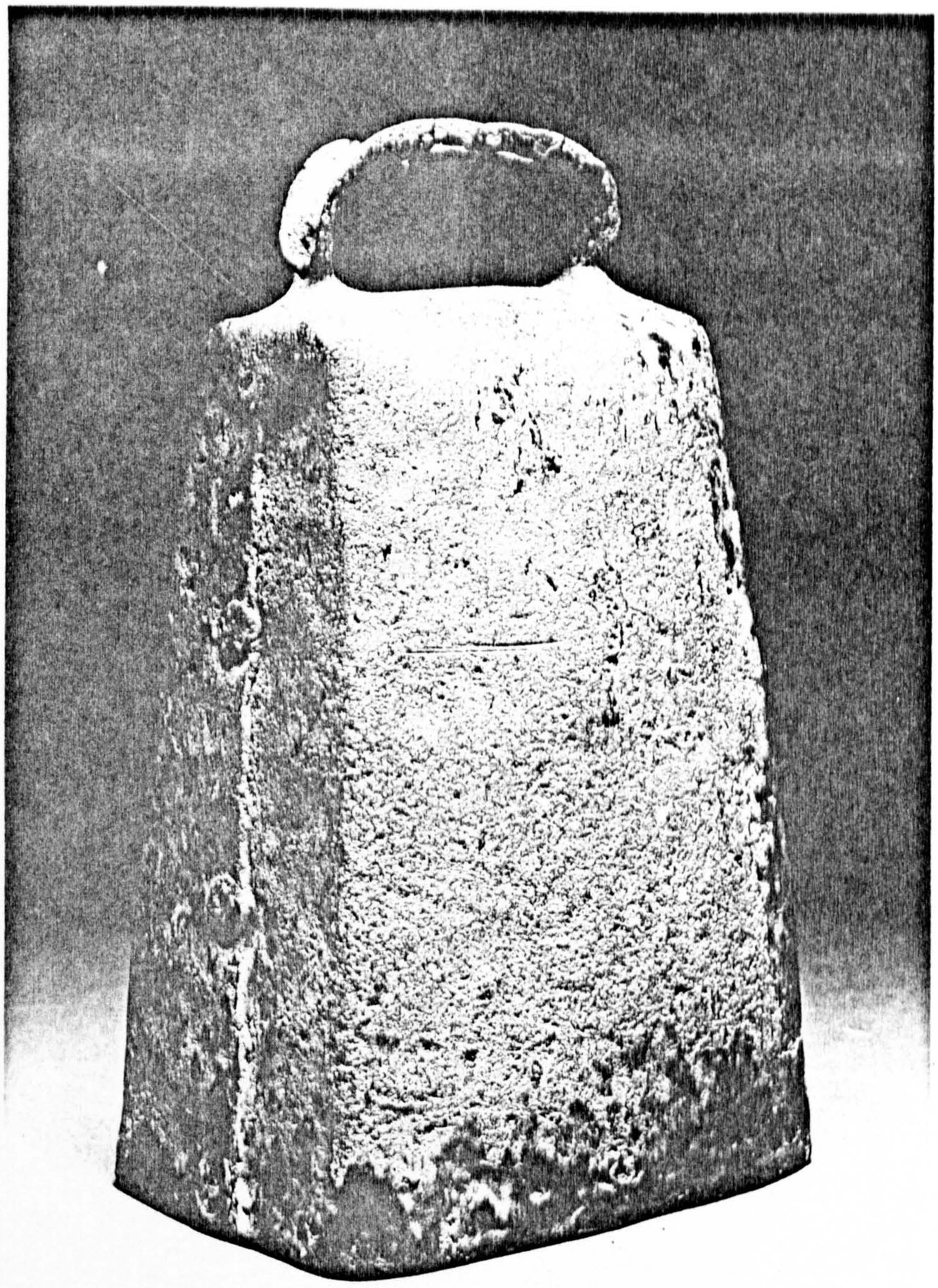
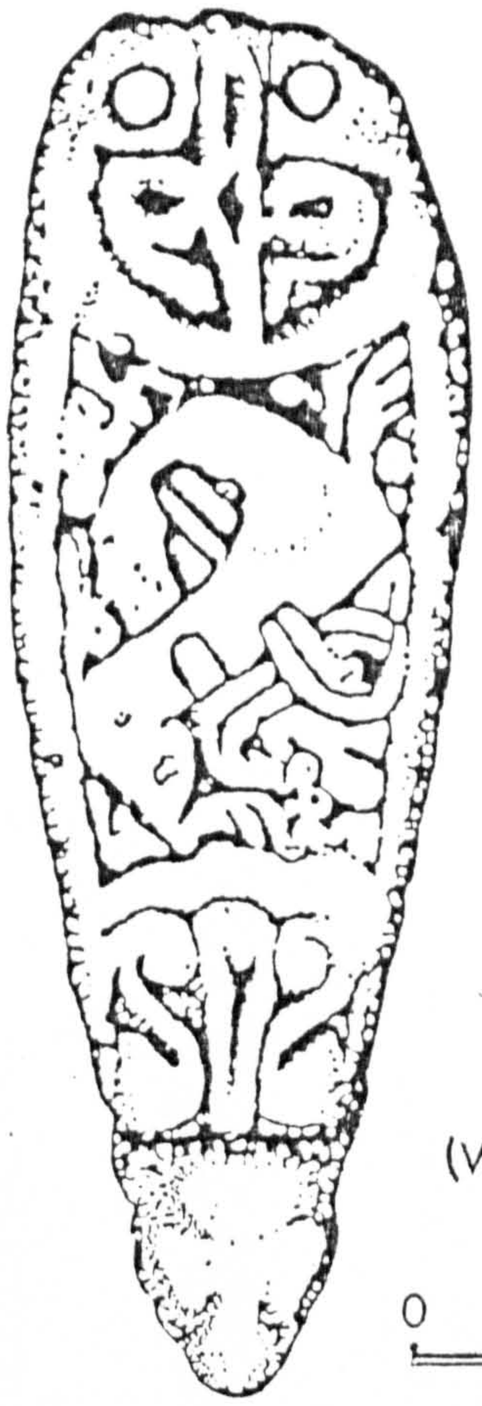


Figure II.6

Bronze Hand-Bell from Hume, Berwickshire or Ednam, Roxburghshire (NMAS M/1942)



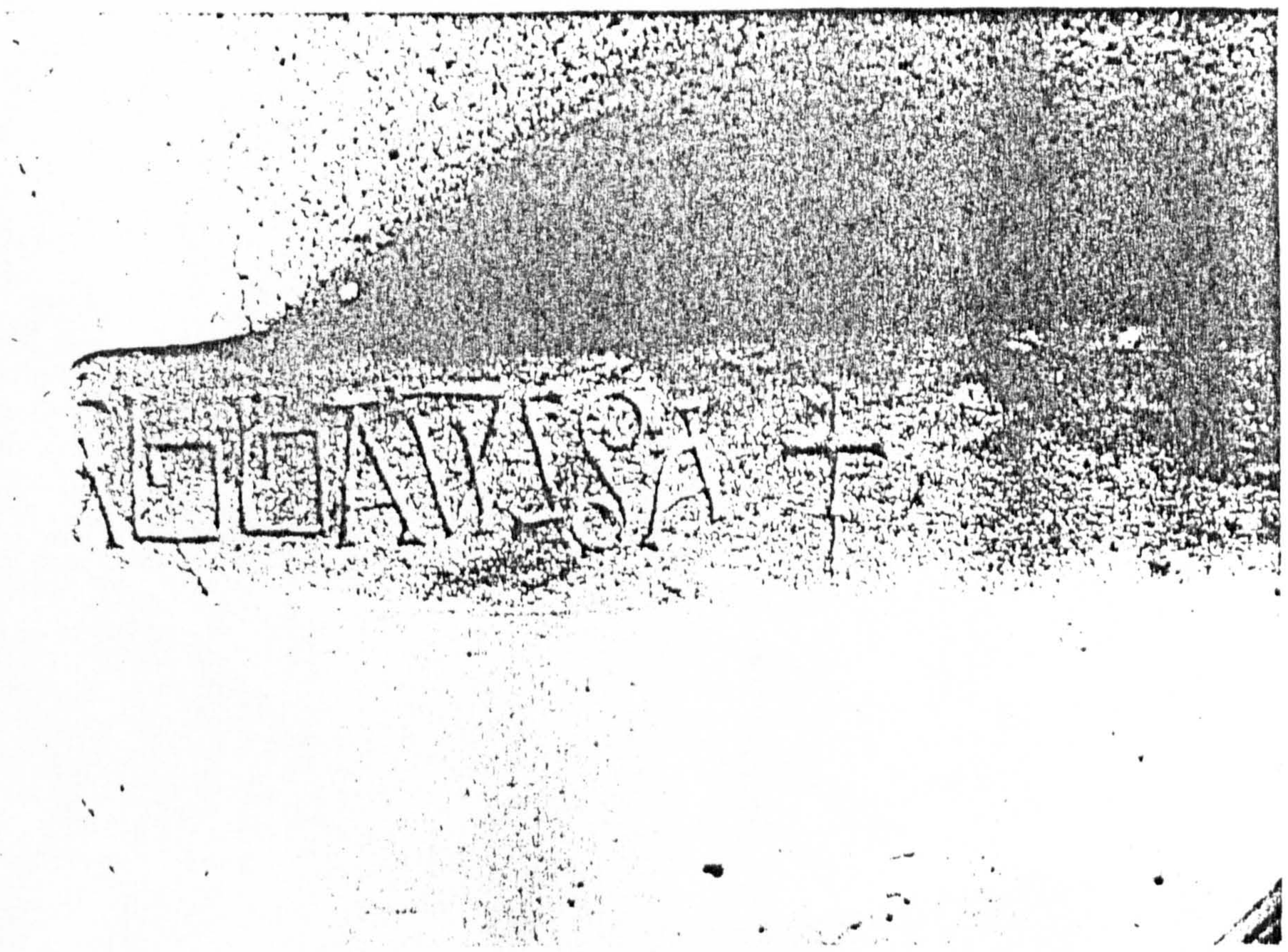
(Wilson, 1964, Fig.3)

0 0.02 m

Figure II.7

Bronze Strap-end from Coldingham Priory, Berwick-shire

Figure II.8



J. M. Carrick

PLATE 5. The Abbatissa Stone.
Coldingham Priory.

0 0·1m

Figure III.1

The Hirsel, Berwickshire I and II (A-Kelly 1984)

Figure III.2

The Hirsel, Berwickshire III (A-Kelly 1984)

Figure III.3

St Ninians, Stirlingshire (A-Kelly 1984)

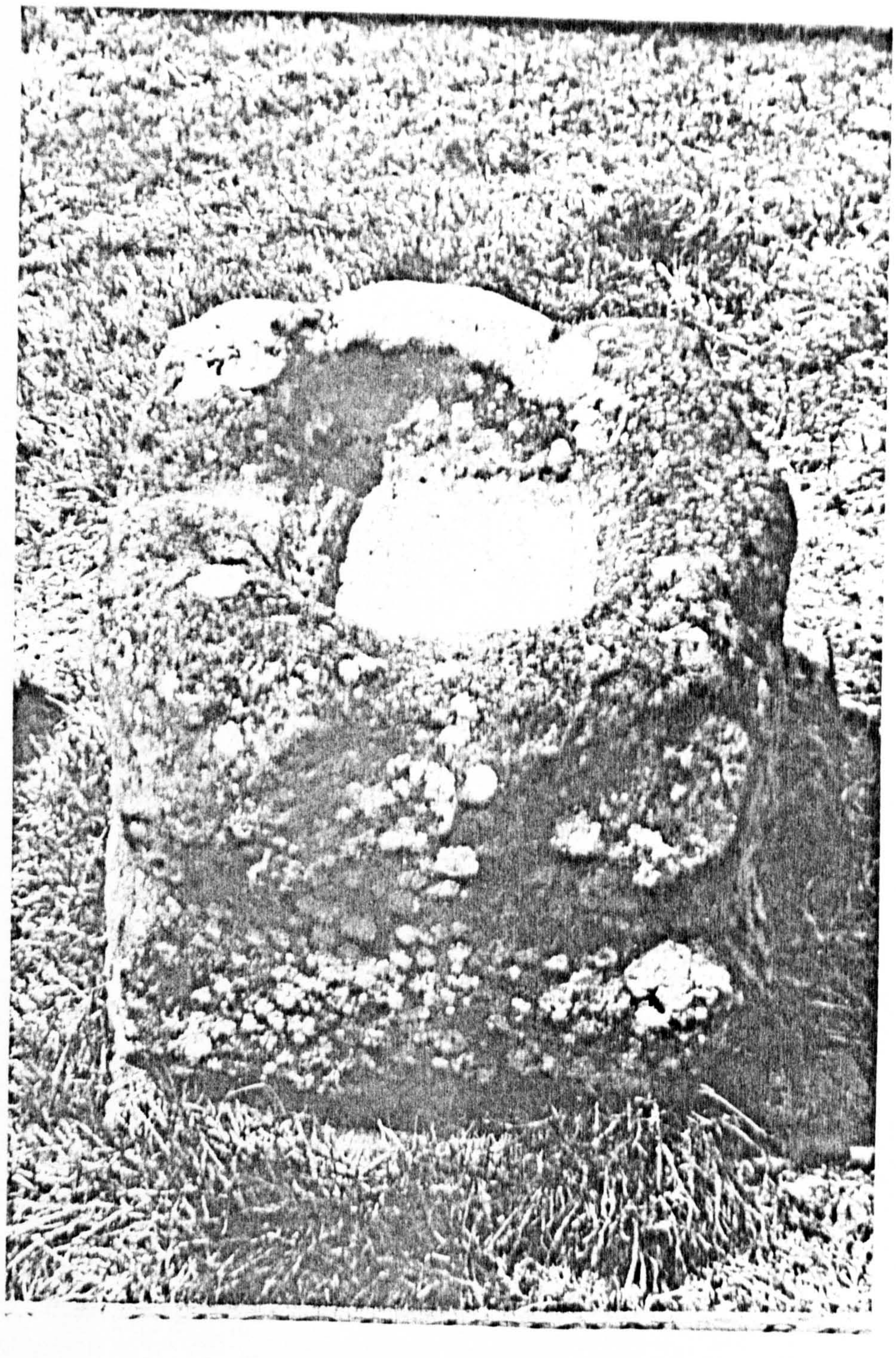


Figure III.4

Manor, Peeblesshire (A-Kelly 1984)

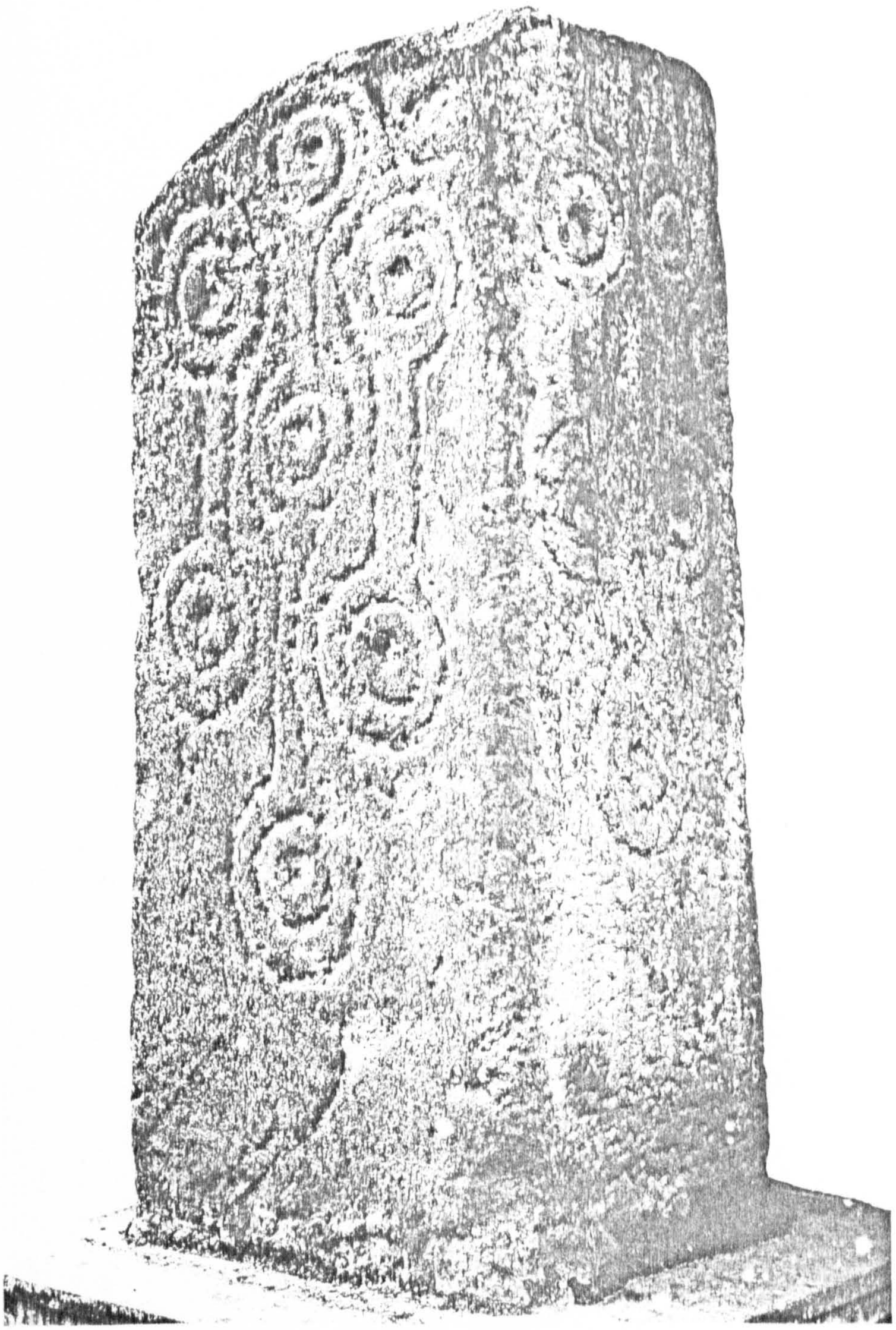


Figure III.5

Innerleithen, Peeblesshire (RCAHMS PB/55, Claxton Copyright)

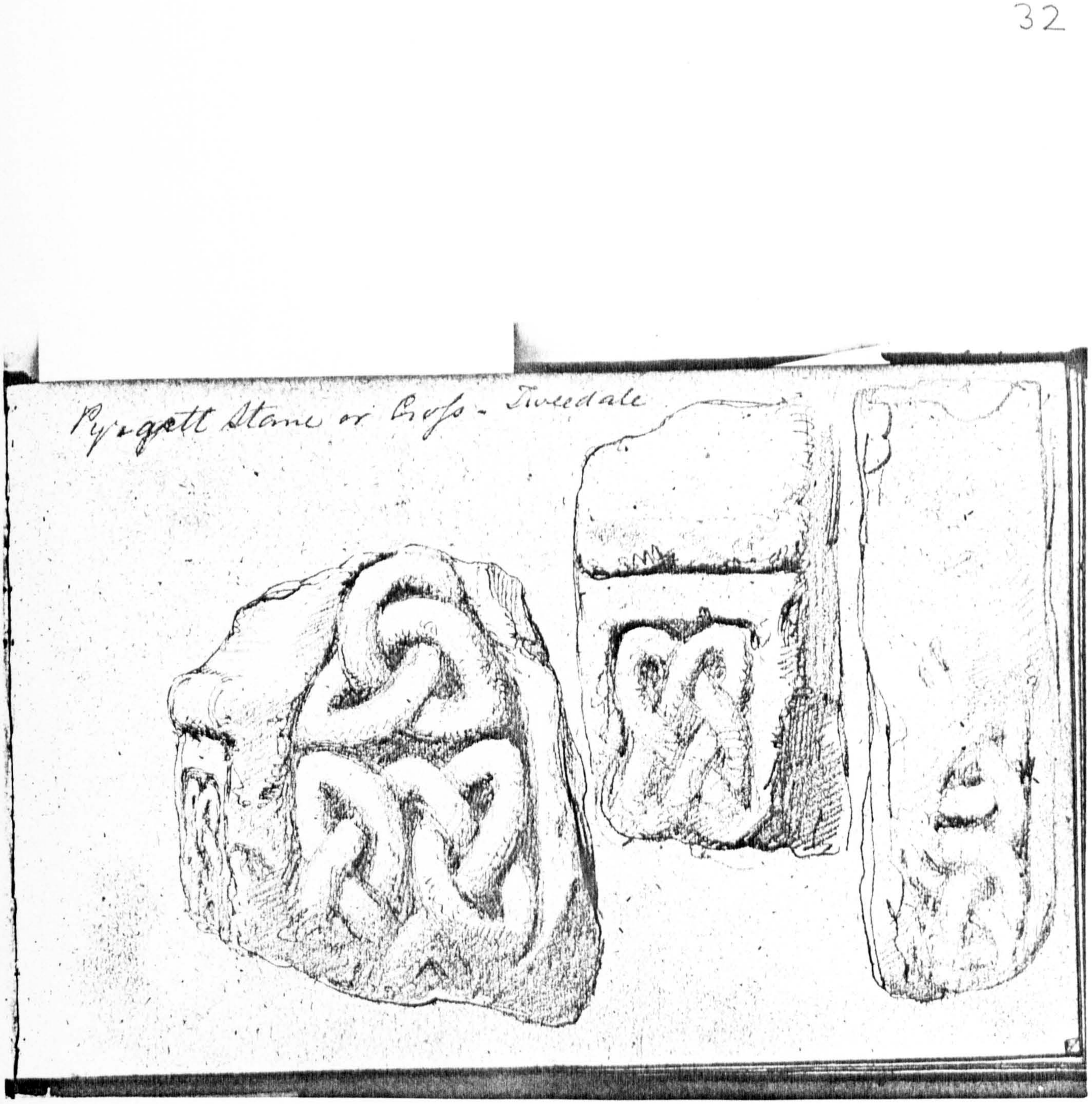


Figure III.6

Pyket Cross, Crosstanefield, Broughton, Peeblesshire
(Fisher RCAHMS PBD/382/1)

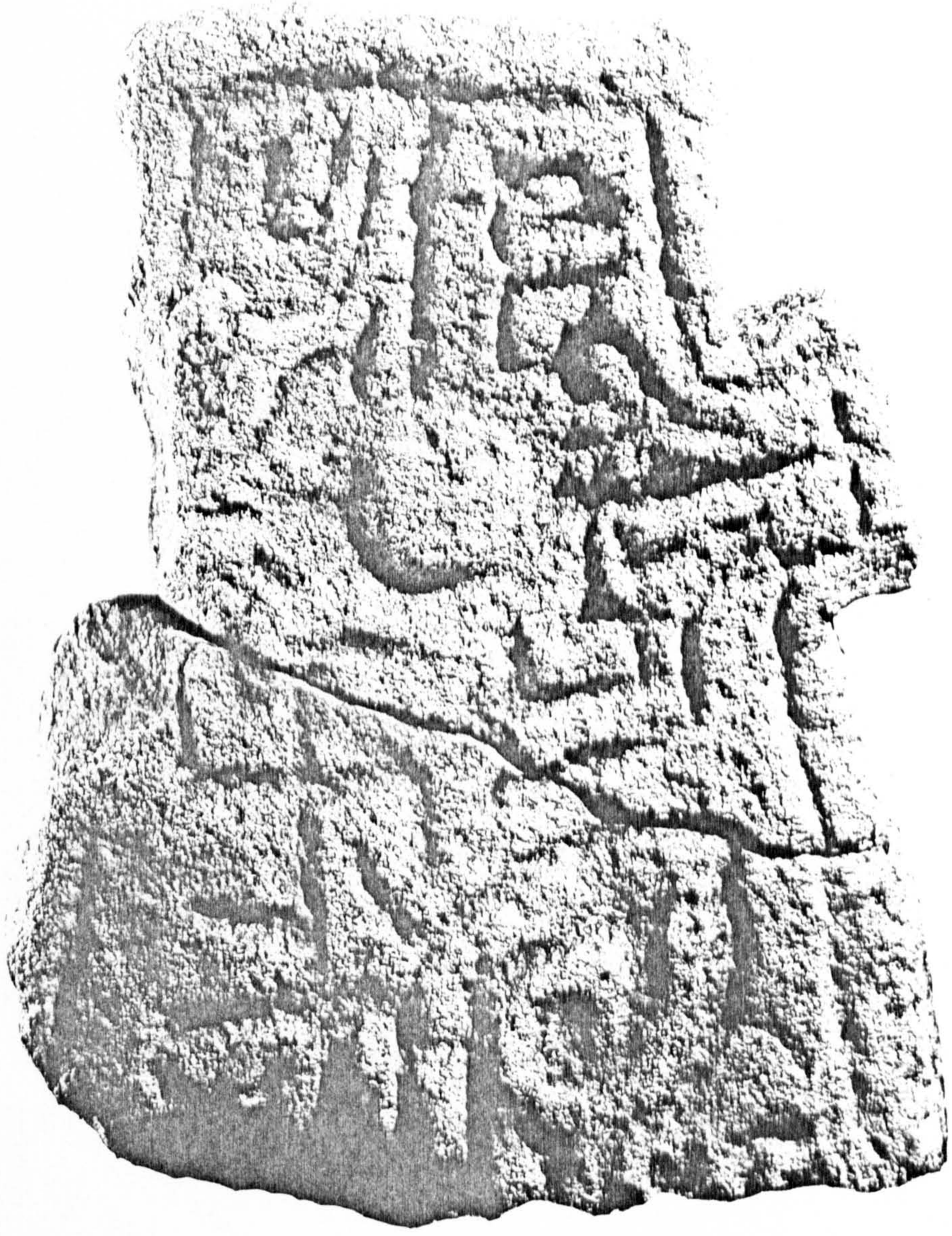


Figure III.7

Netherurd, Peeblesshire (RCAHMS PB/169)

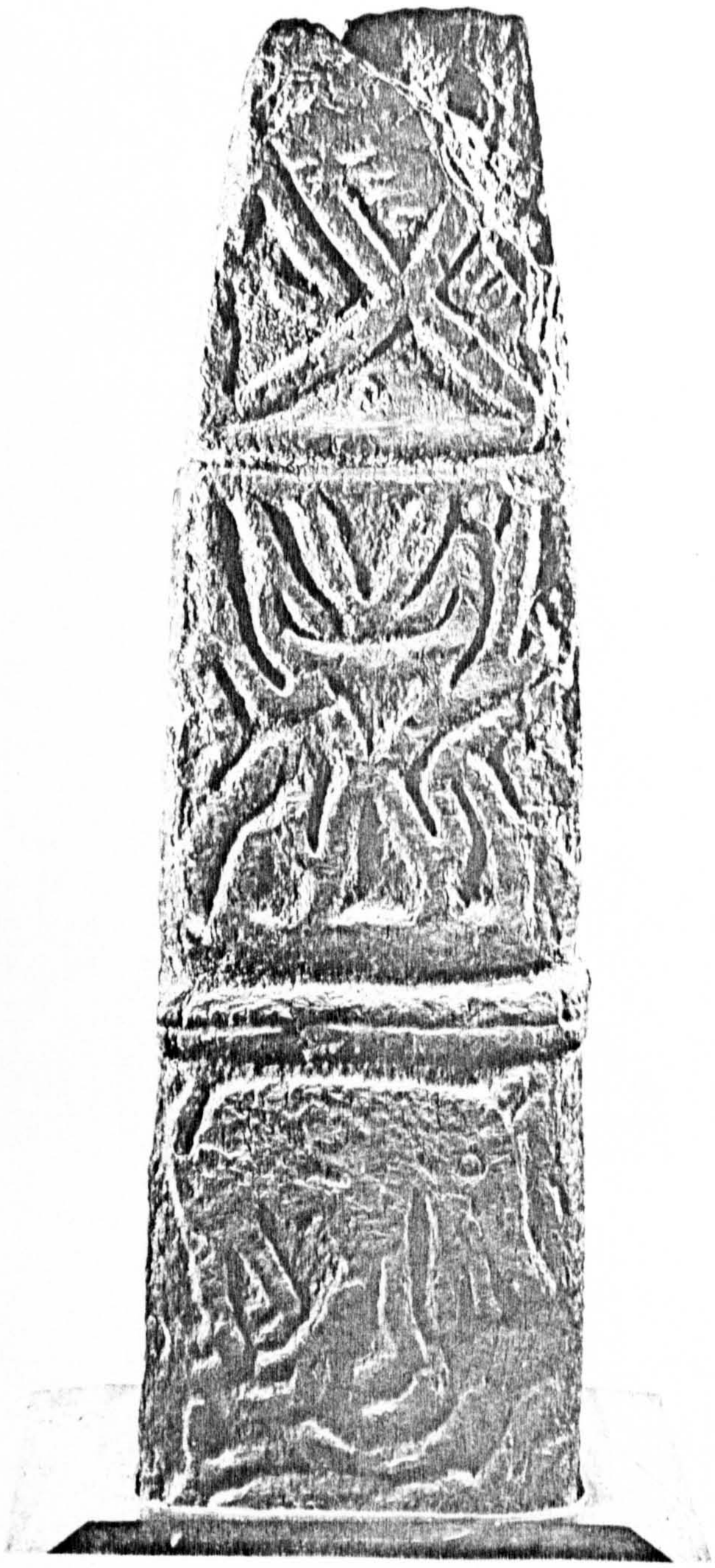


Figure III.8

Borthwick, Midlothian I (NMAS)

Figure III.9

Borthwick II (Crookston House, Stow, Midlothian)
(RCAHMS ML/3162)

Figure III.10

Borthwick III (Crookston House, Stow, Midlothian)
(RCAHMS ML/3163)

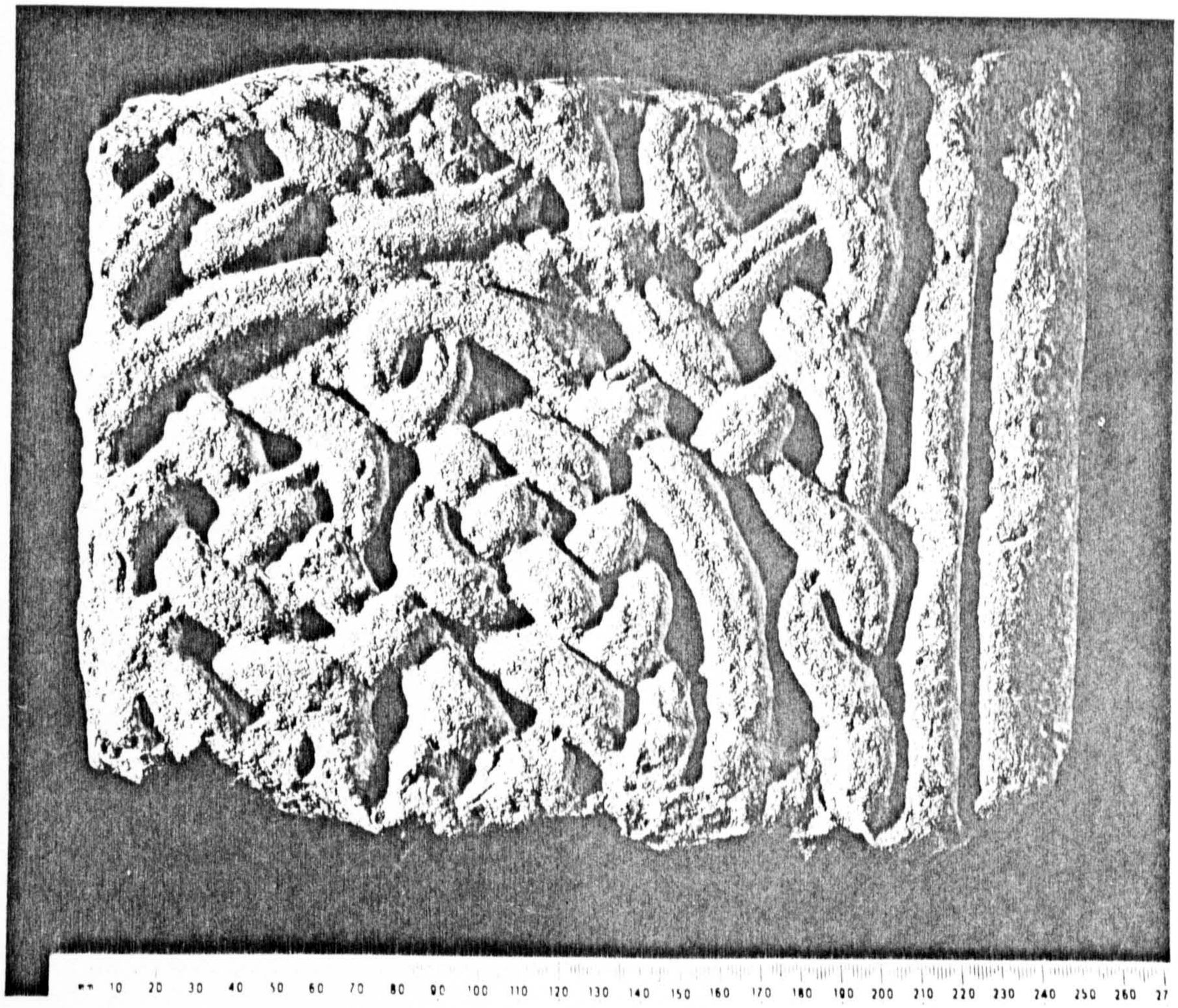


Figure III.11

Gattonside, Roxburghshire (NMAS)

A singular stone has been lately discovered, which may perhaps have formed part of one of these ancient columns. On one side are sculptured two figures;

that on the right seems designed to represent our Saviour, holding in one hand a book, with the other raised in the attitude of prayer. Over their heads are the initial letters of *Jesus Salvator Hominum*, Jesus the Saviour of Men, with the words *In Galilea* in full. On another side are two figures of more elaborate workmanship, representing the figure of a female and an eagle, both of which are enveloped in a fasciculus of stony wreaths.

Figure III.12

Coldingham, Berwickshire I (Carr 1836)

Figure III.13

Coldingham, Berwickshire II FRONT SIDE (NMAS)

Figure III.13

Coldingham, Berwickshire II LEFT SIDE (NMAS)

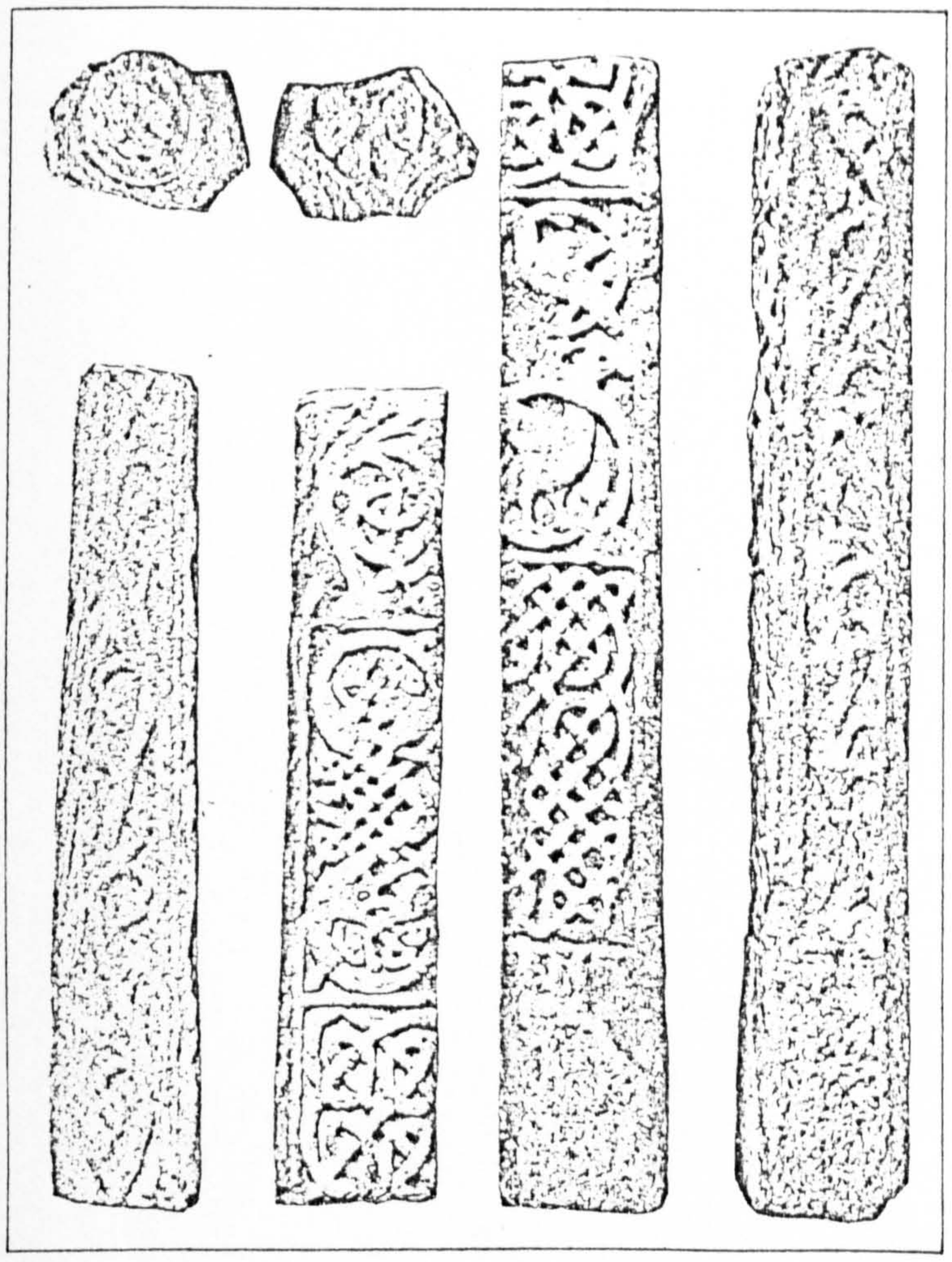
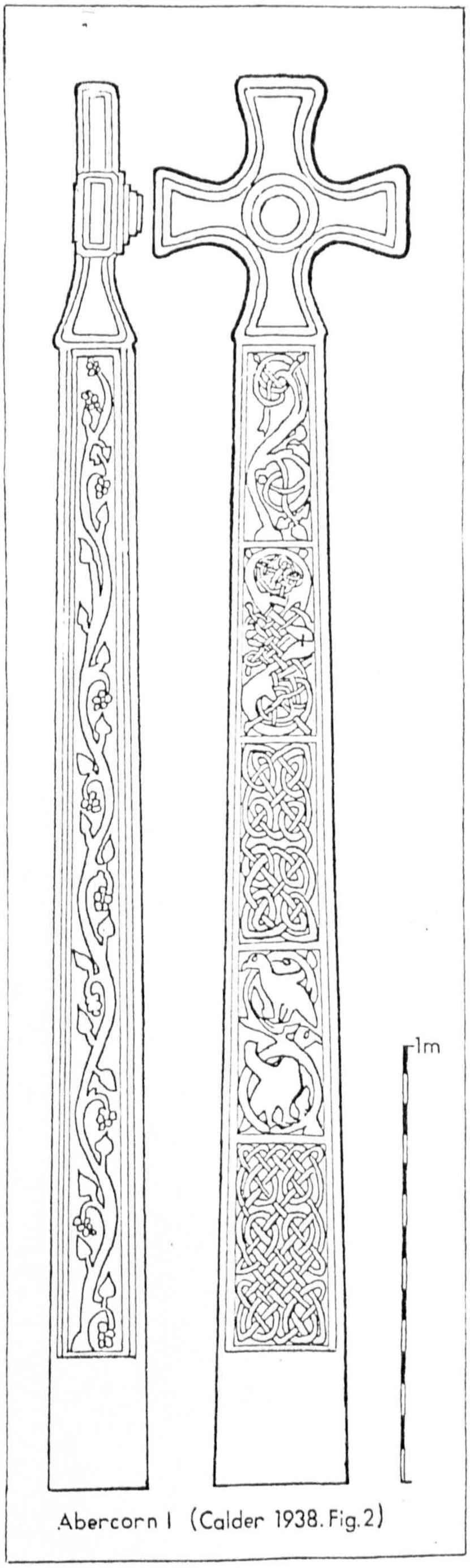


Figure III.14

Abercorn, West Lothian I
(Calder 1938 Figs 3, 2)



Abercorn I (Calder 1938. Fig. 2)

Figure III.15

Abercorn, West Lothian II FRONT (RCAHMS WL/748)

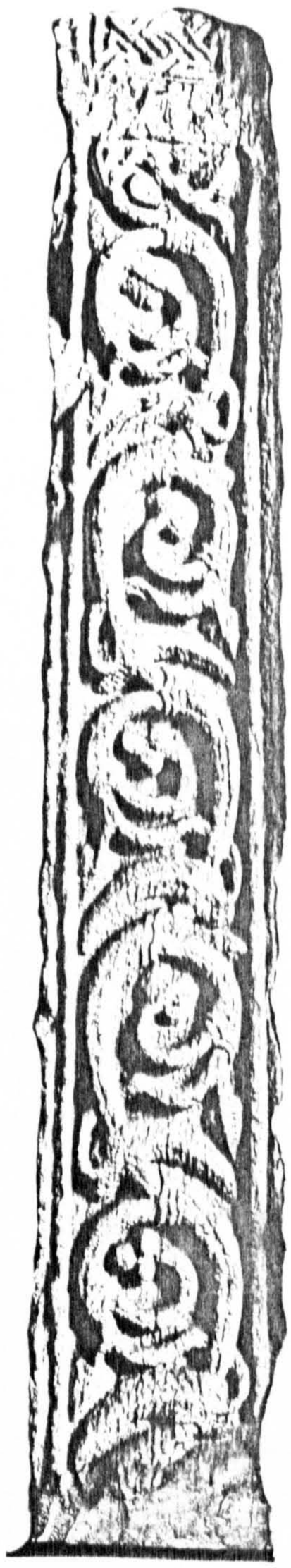


Figure III.15

Abercorn, West Lothian II LEFT SIDE (RCAHMS WL/752)

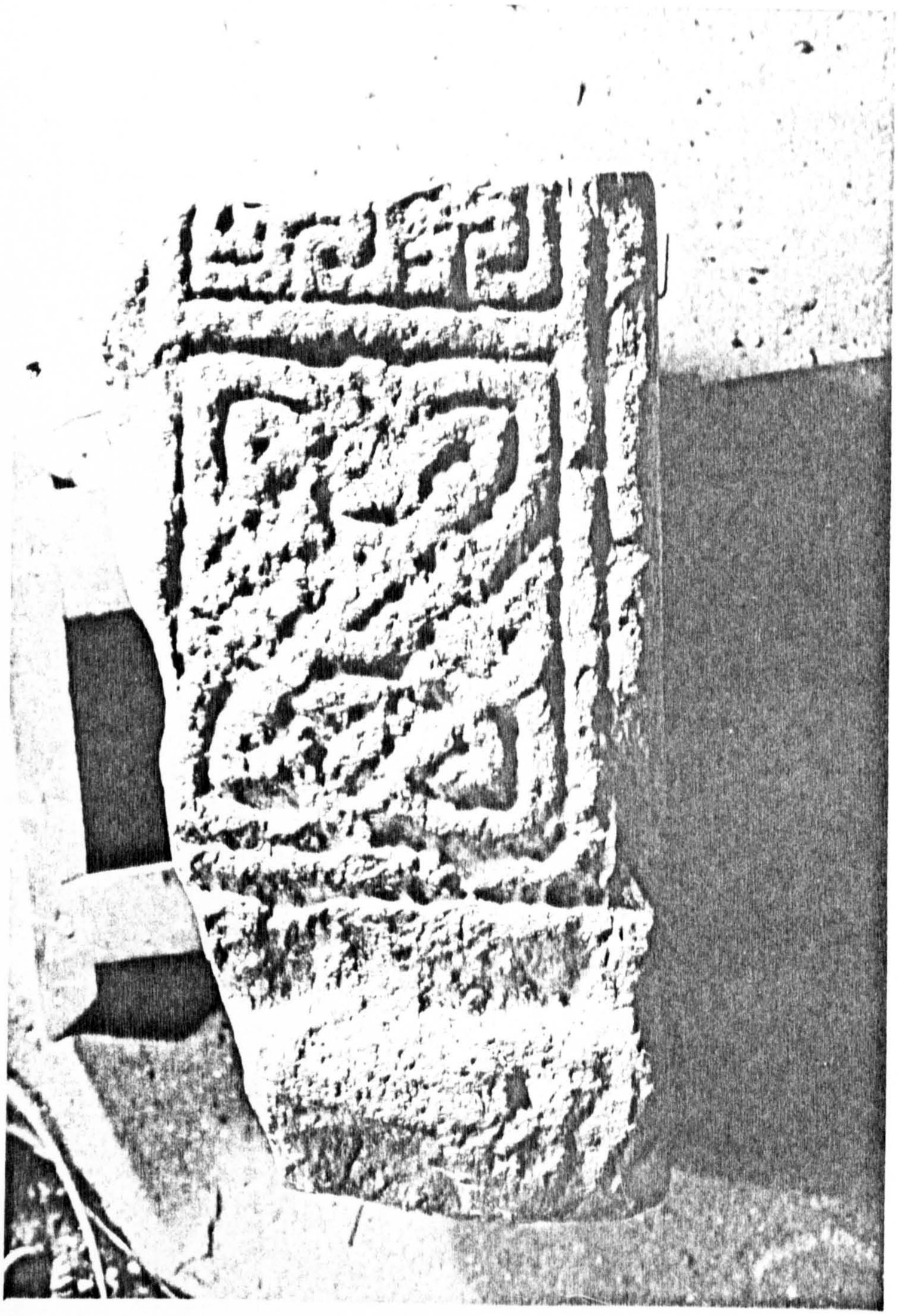


Figure III.16

Abercorn, West Lothian III FRONT (RCAHMS/Fisher 12)

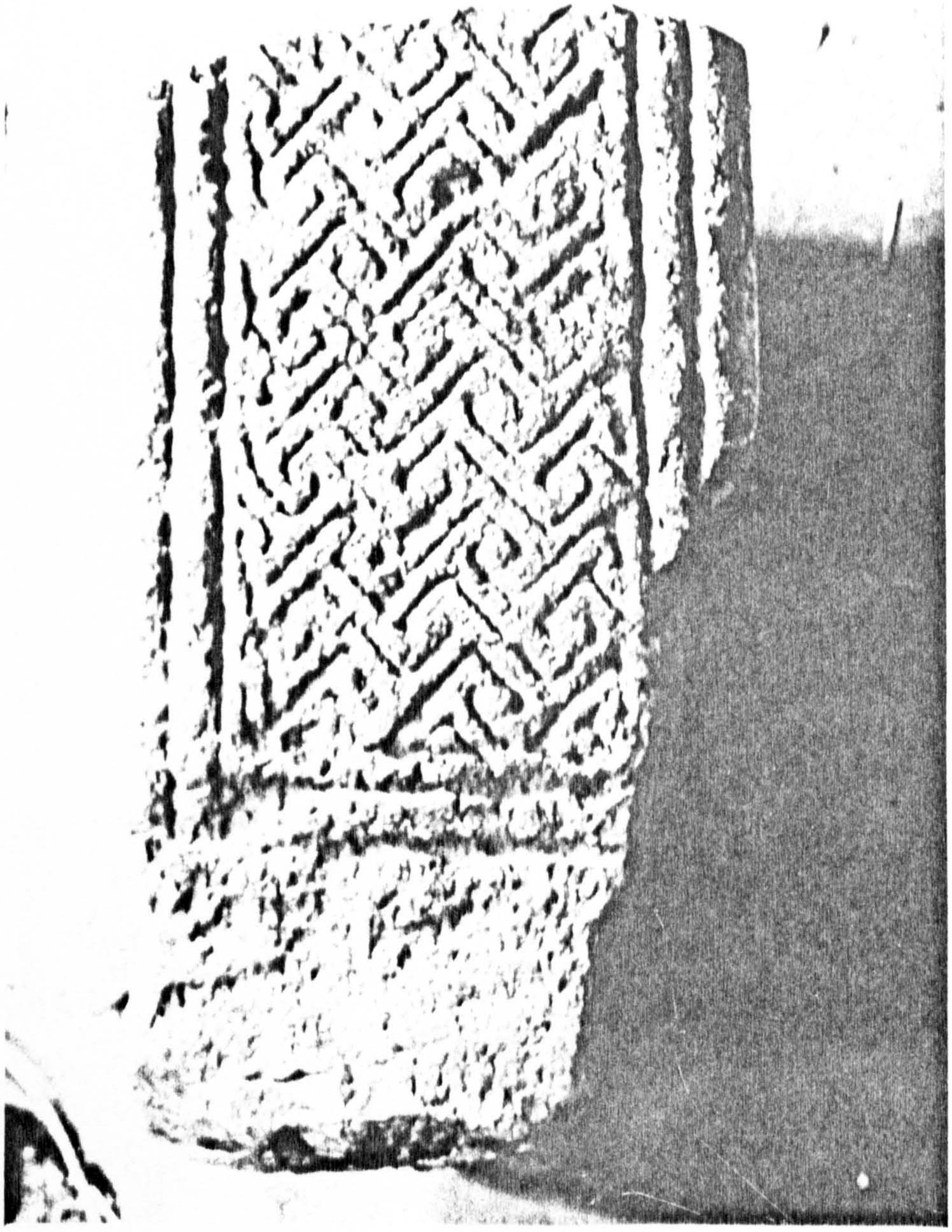


Figure III.16

Abercorn, West Lothian III BACK (RCAHMS/Fisher 13)

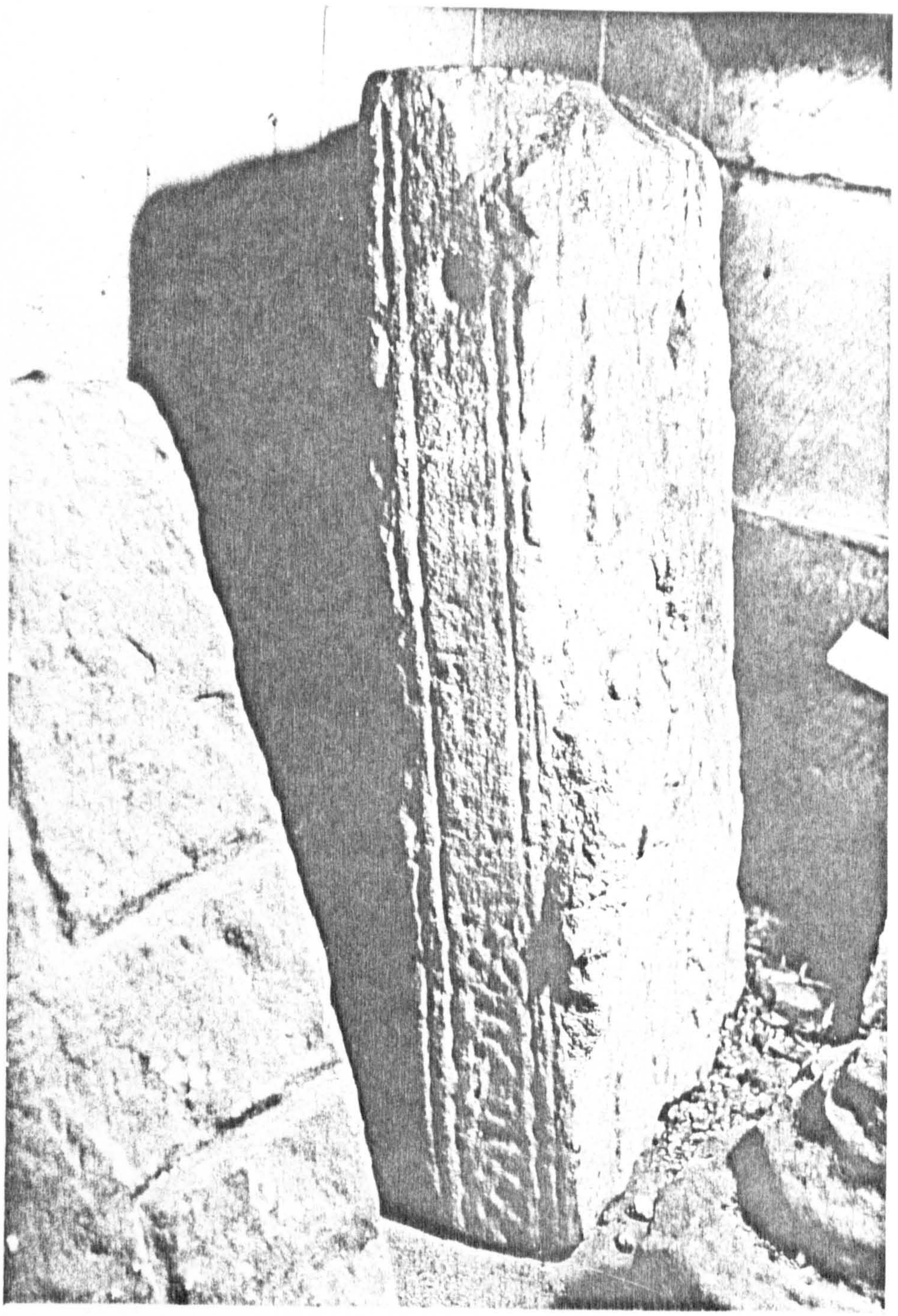


Figure III.17

Abercorn, West Lothian IV (RCAHMS/Fisher 6)

Figure III.18

Tyninghame, East Lothian FRONT (NMAS)

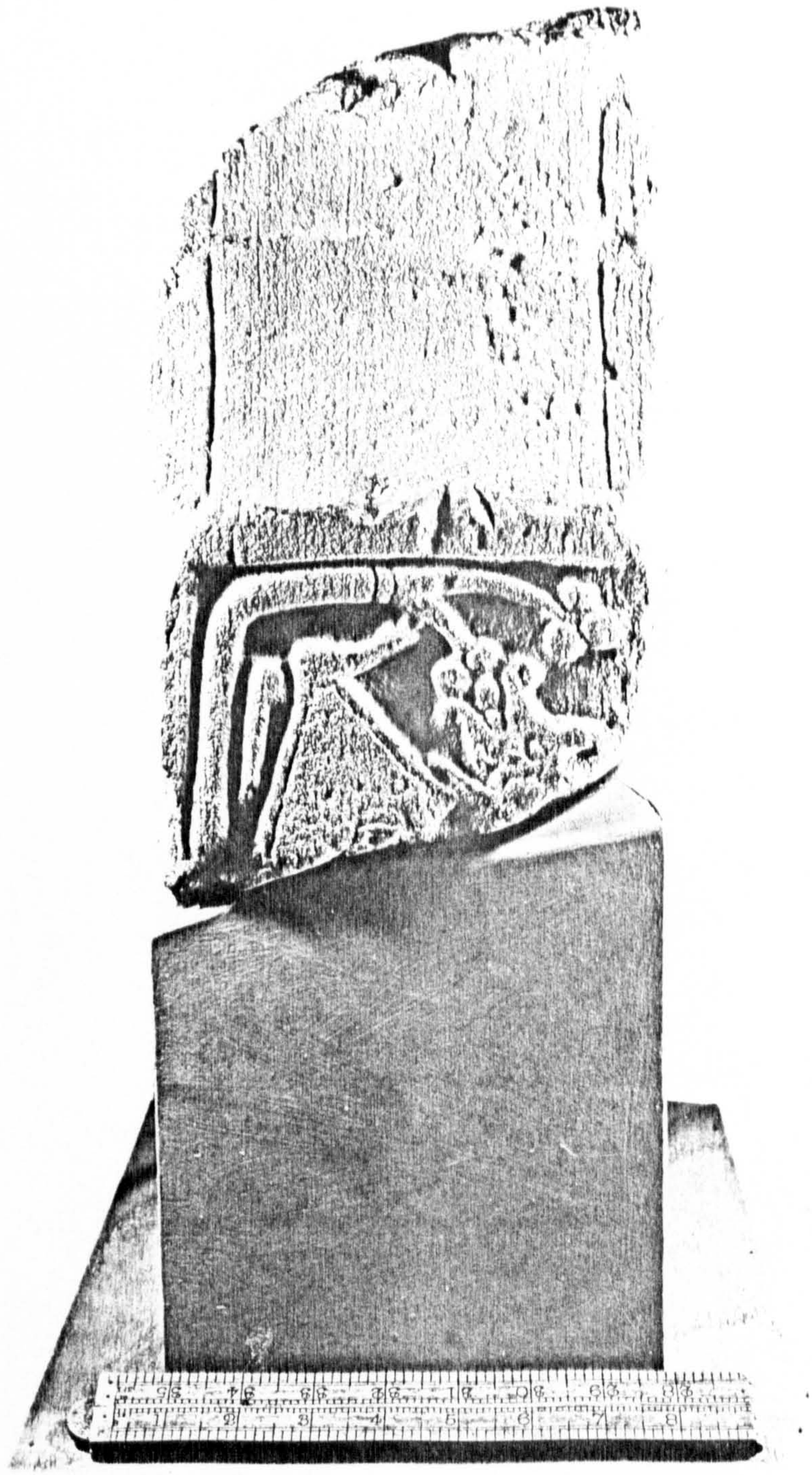


Figure III.18

Tyninghame, East Lothian LEFT SIDE (NMAS)

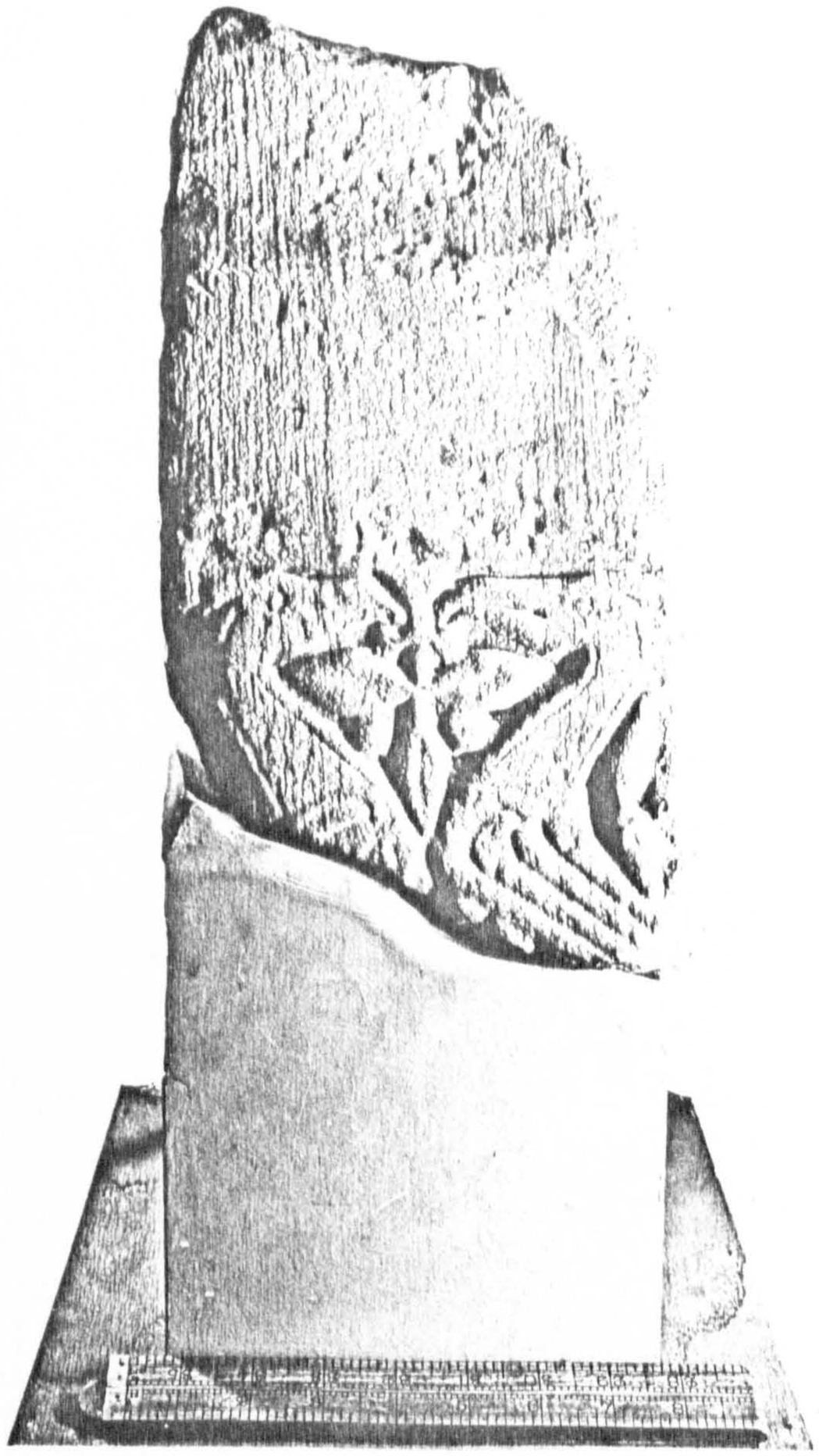
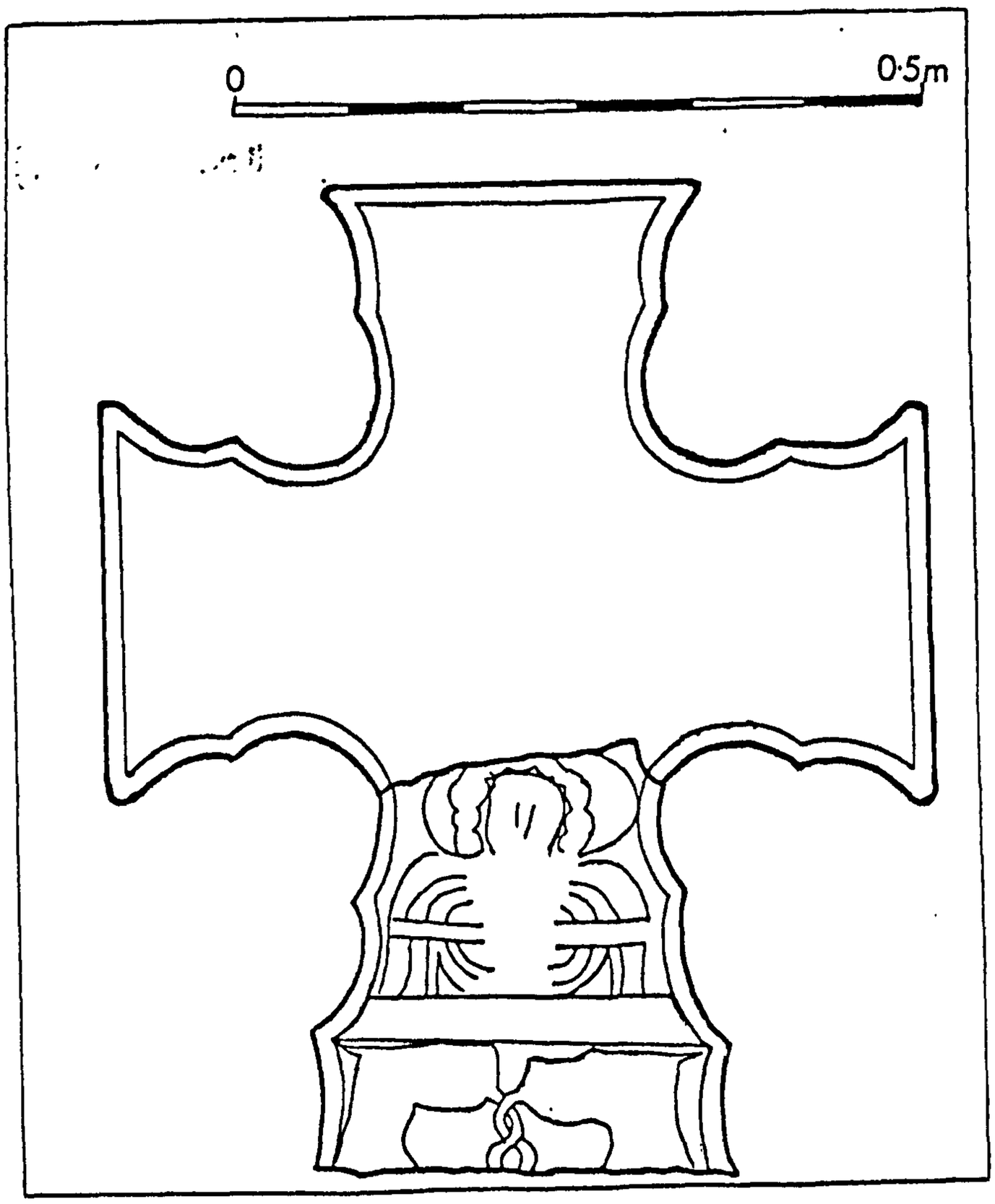


Figure III.18

Tyninghame, East Lothian RIGHT SIDE (NMAS)

Figure III.18

Tyninghame, East Lothian (Stevenson 1959)



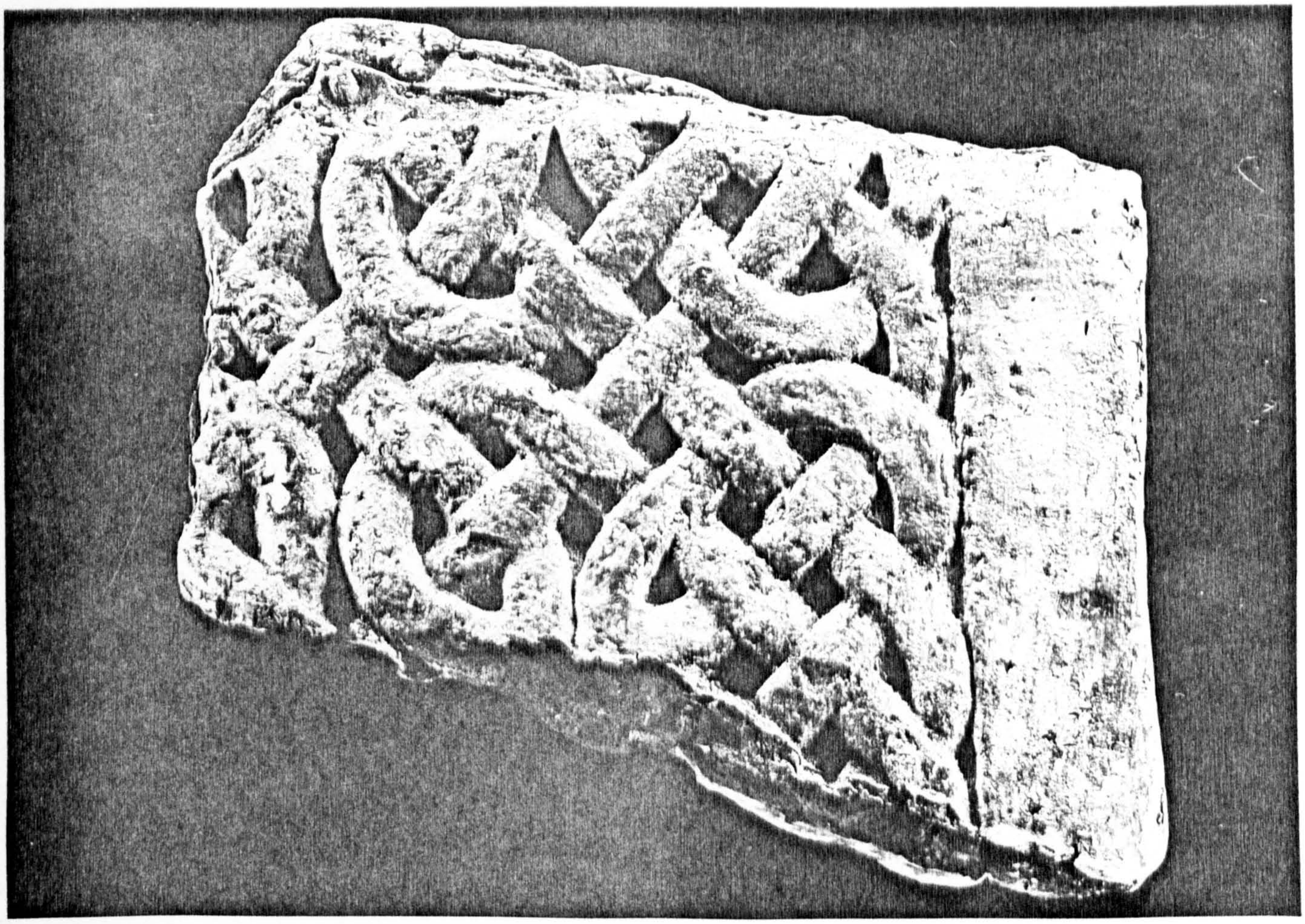


Figure III.19

Ancrum, Roxburghshire (NMAS 1B 184)

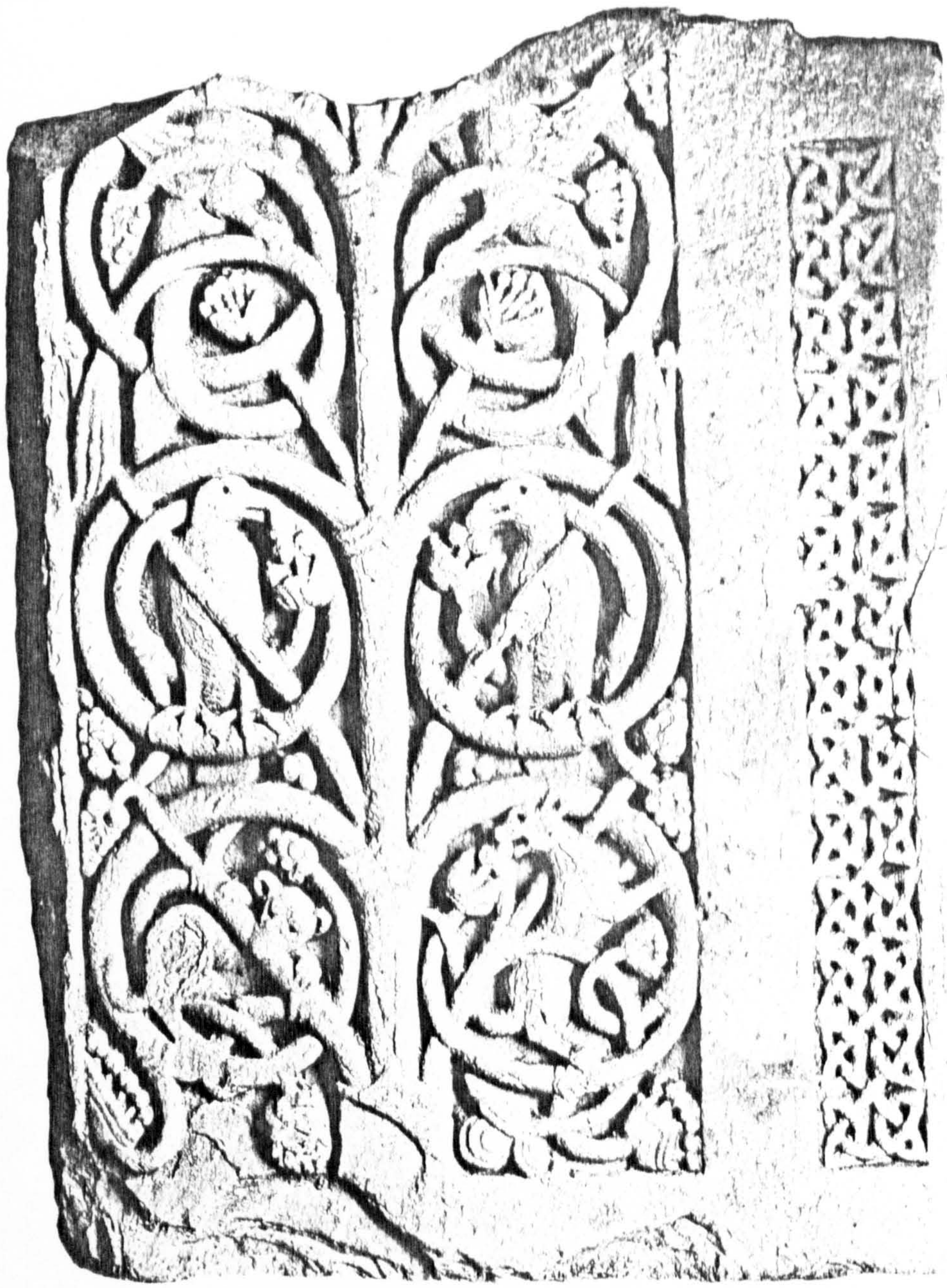
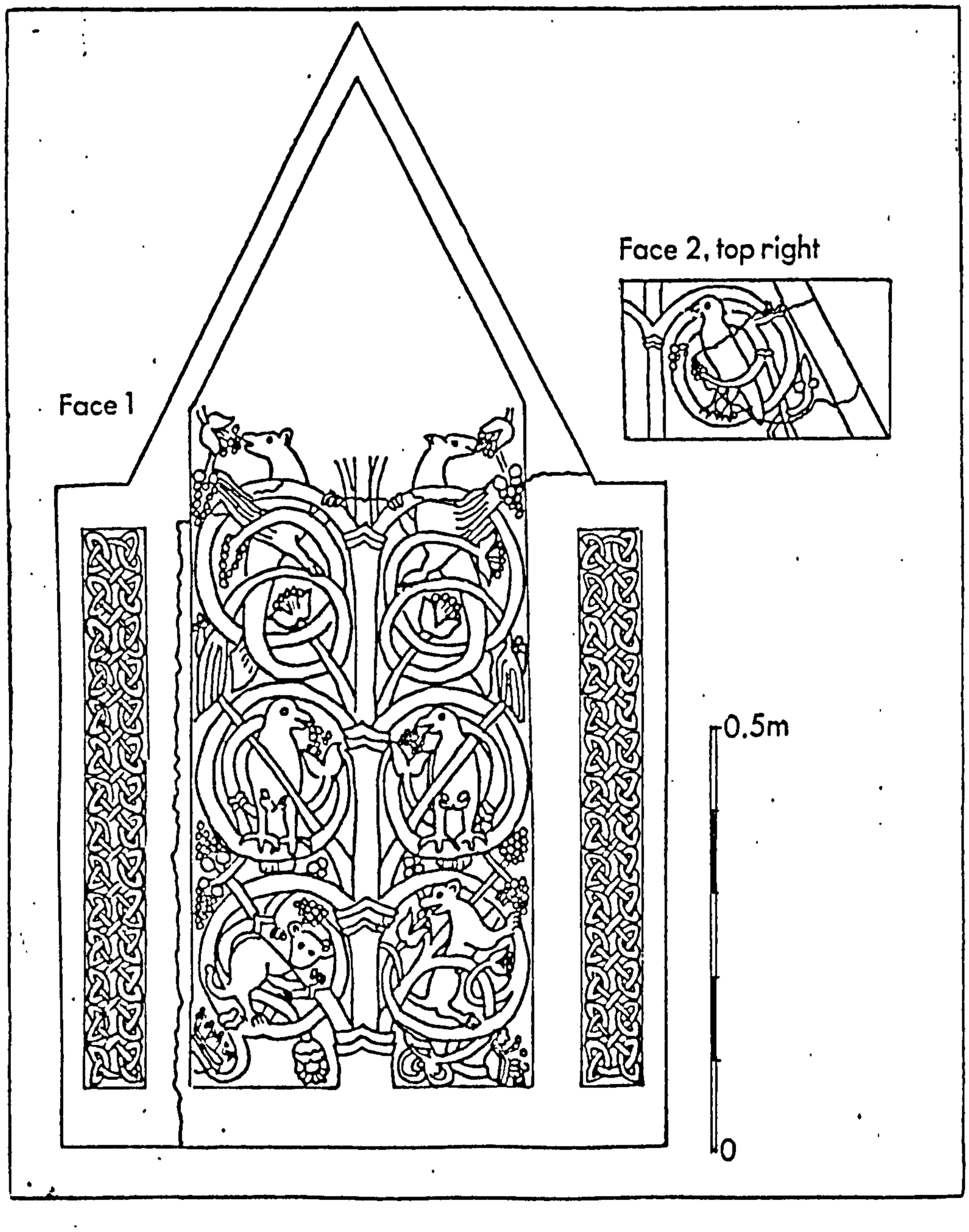


Figure III.20

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire I (RCAHMS RX/2188, Clayton Copyright)

Figure III.20

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire I (RCAHMS.1956, Fig 259)



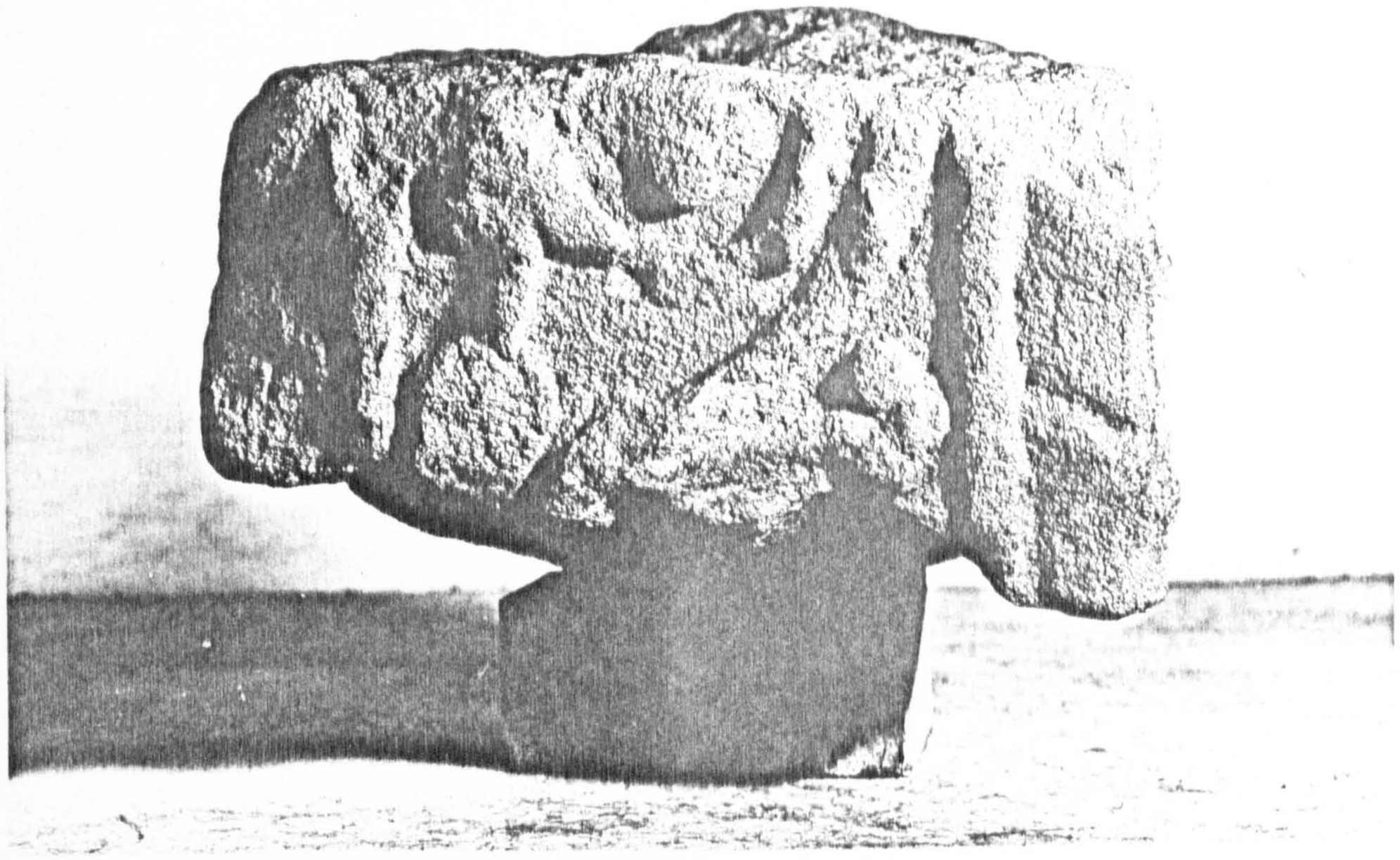


Figure III.21

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire II FRONT (RCAHMS/SDD G1701-38)

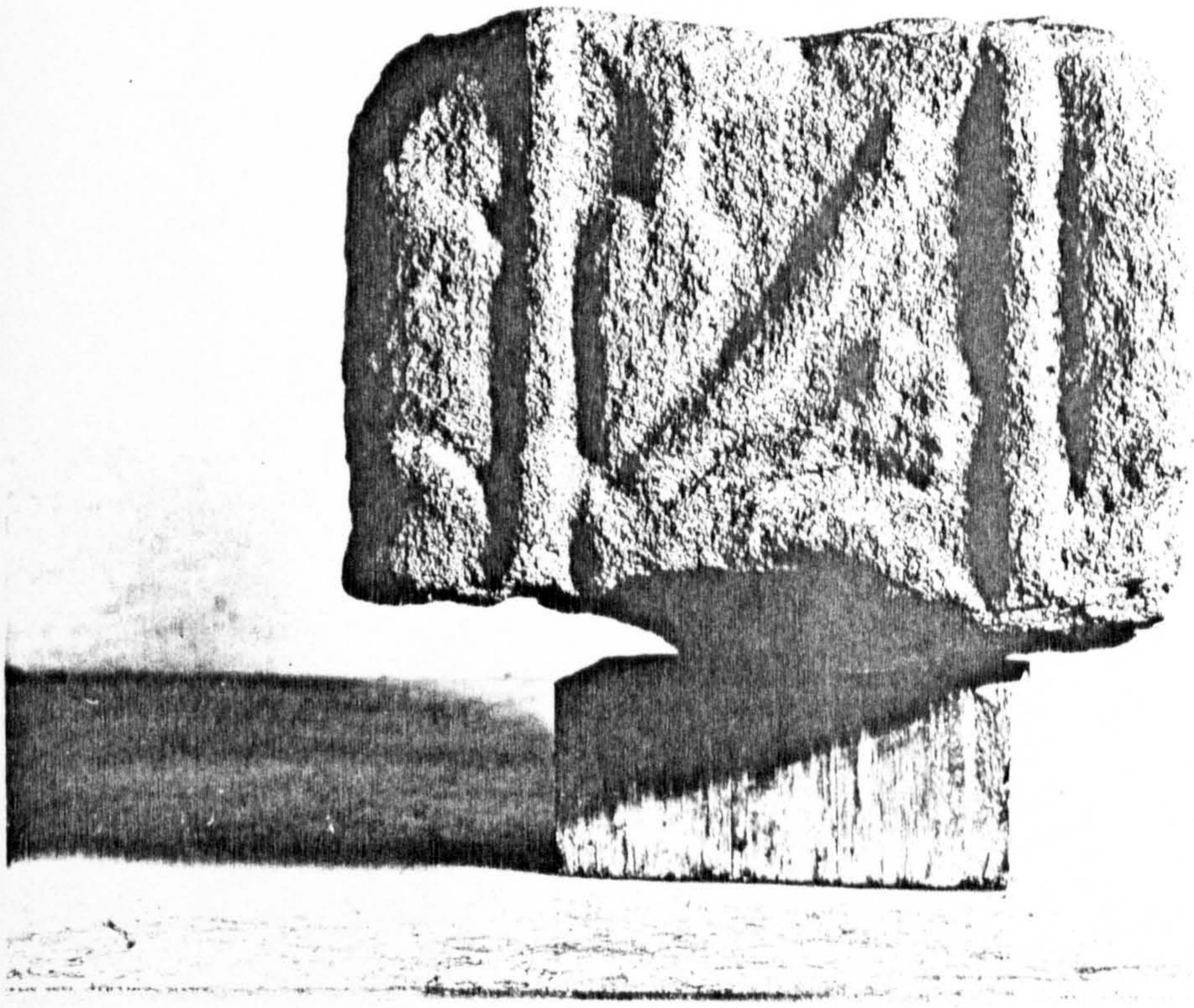


Figure III.21

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire II SIDE (RCAHMS/SDD G1701-37)

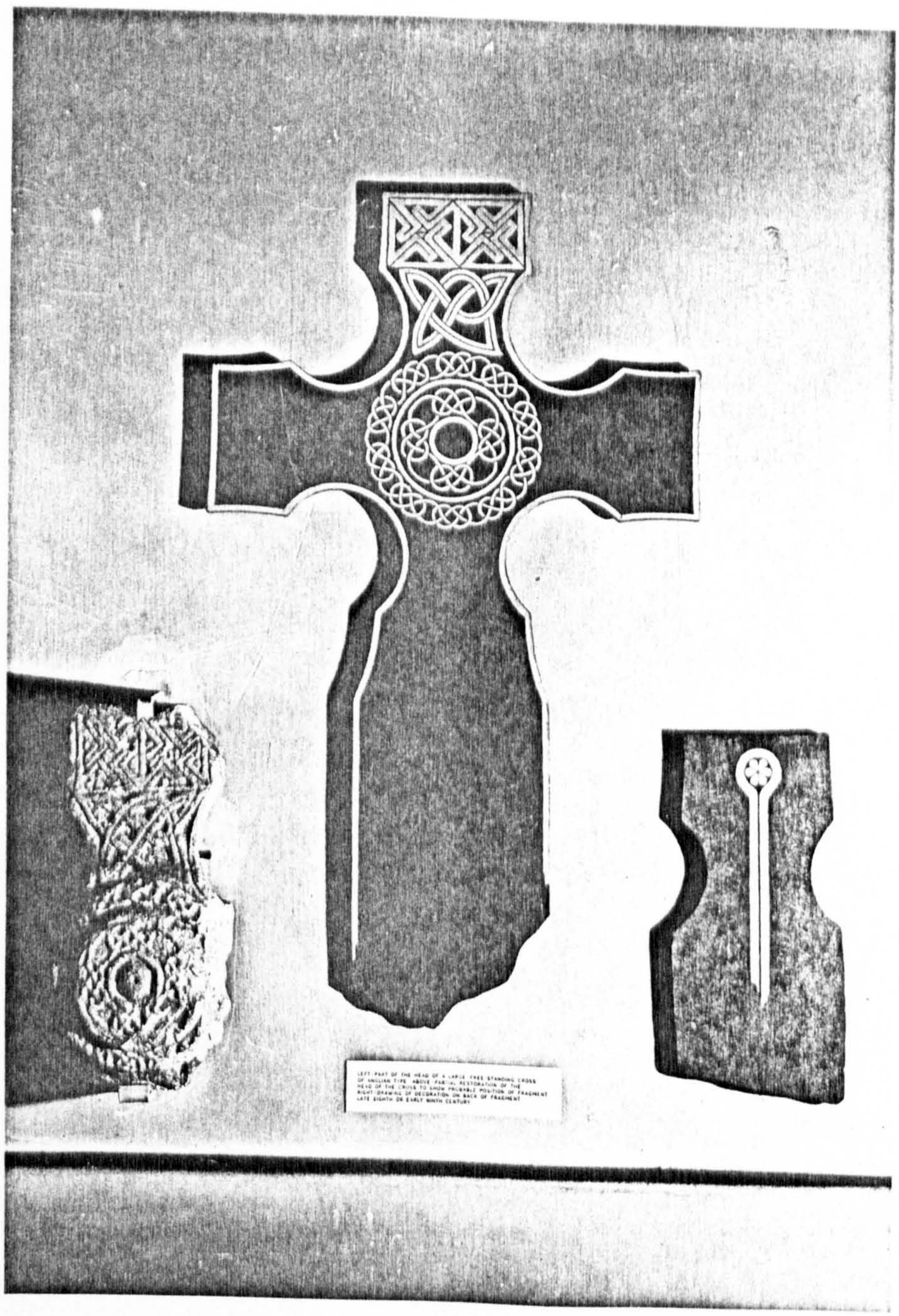
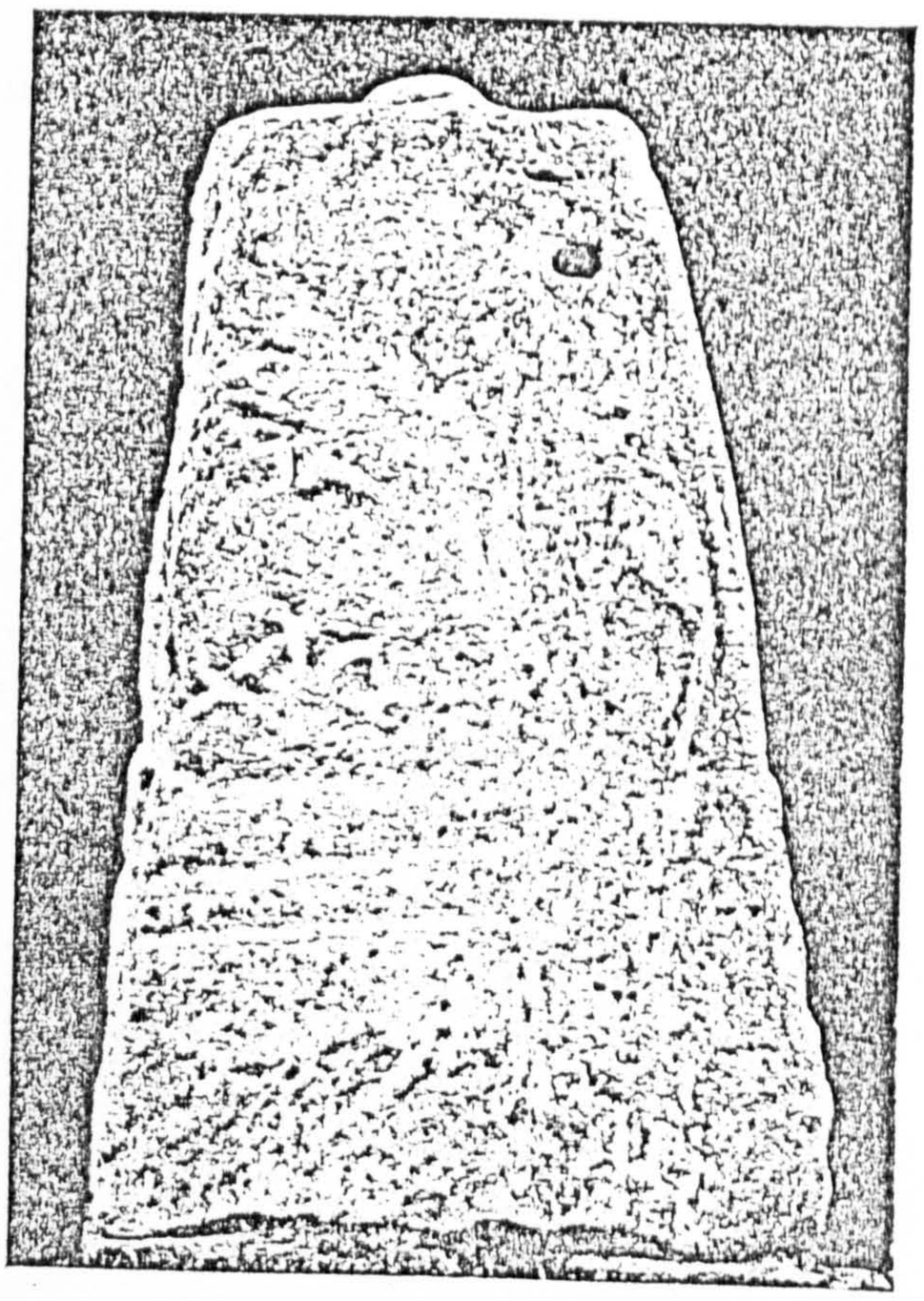


Figure III.22

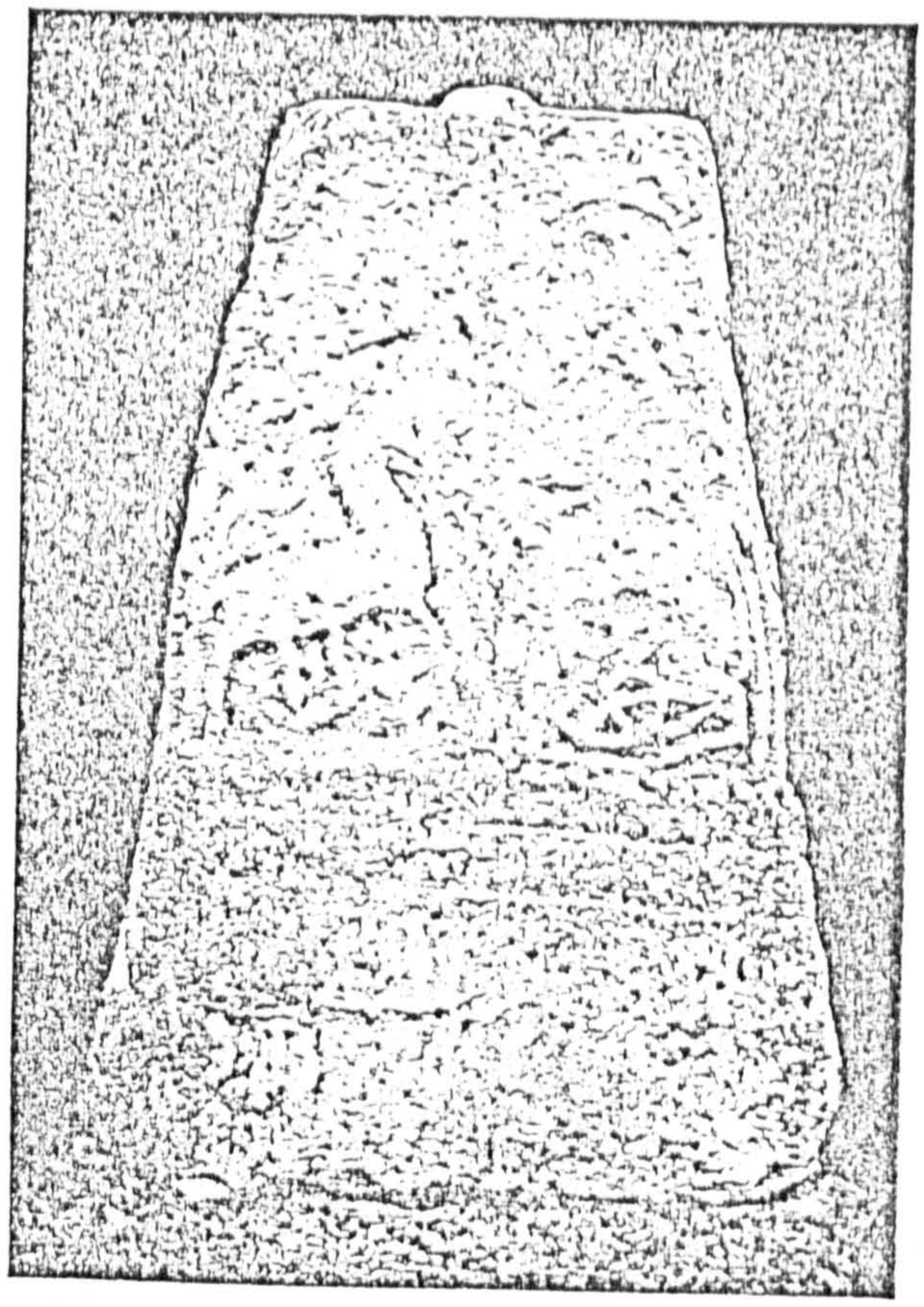
Jedburgh, Roxburghshire III (RCAHMS/SDD G1701-30)

Figure III.23

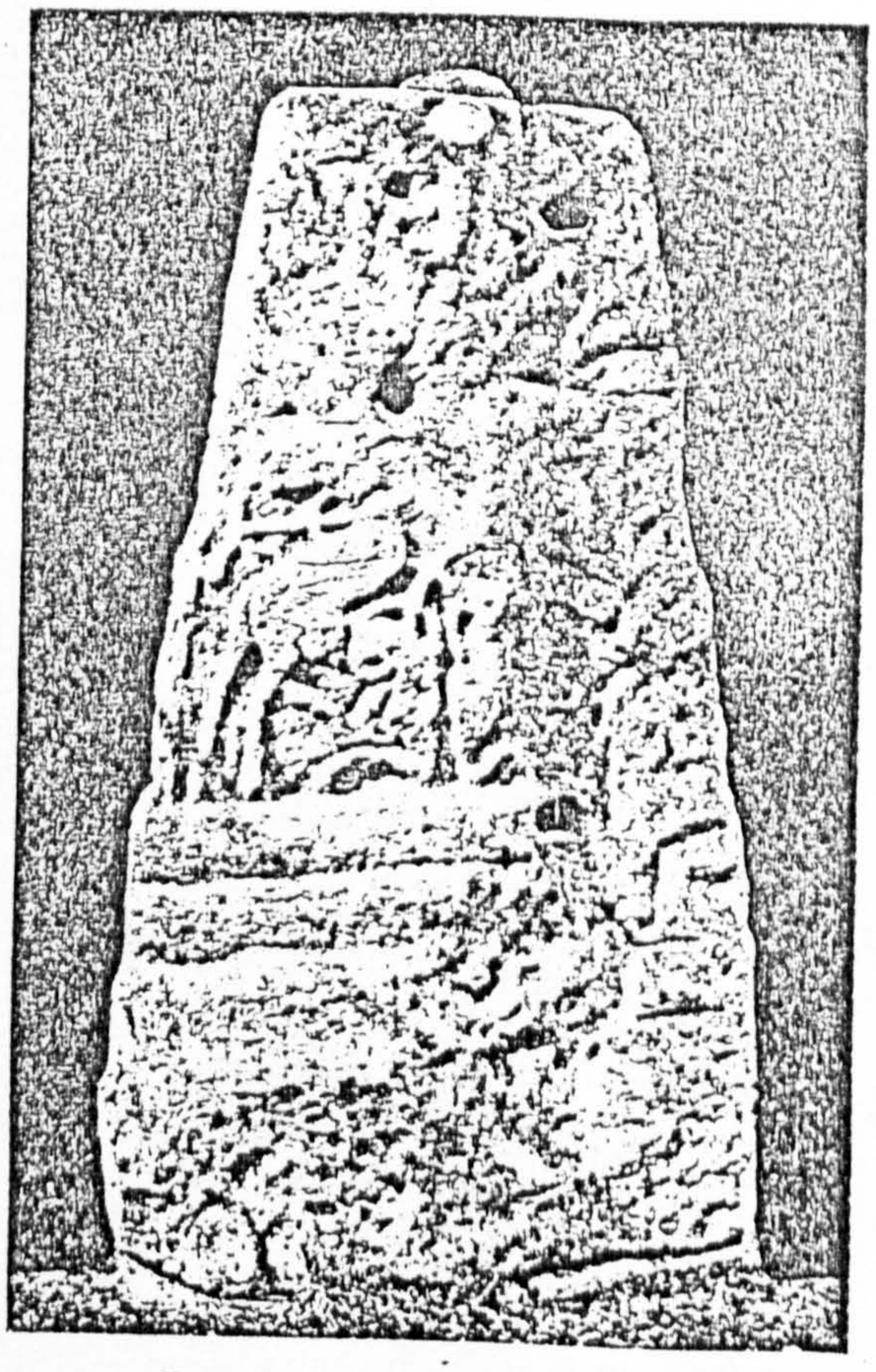
Jedburgh, Roxburghshire IV (Smith J A 1872, Fig 5)



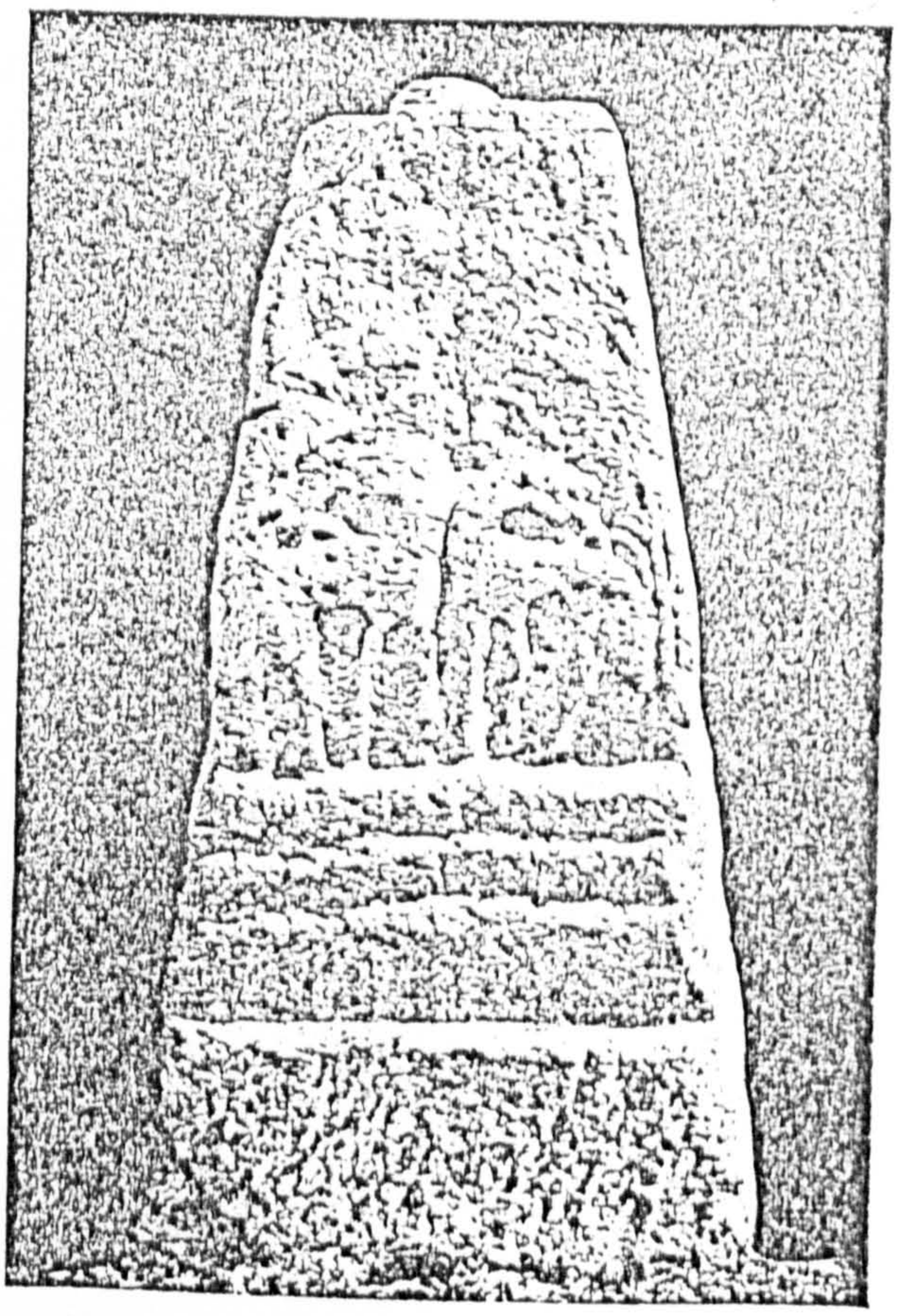
Base of Cross-shaft, sculptured in relief, at Hartrigge, near Jedburgh. North side.



Base of Cross-shaft, sculptured in relief, at Hartrigge, near Jedburgh. South side.



Base of Cross-shaft, sculptured in relief, at Hartrigge, near Jedburgh. East side.



Base of Cross-shaft, sculptured in relief, at Hartrigge, near Jedburgh. West side.

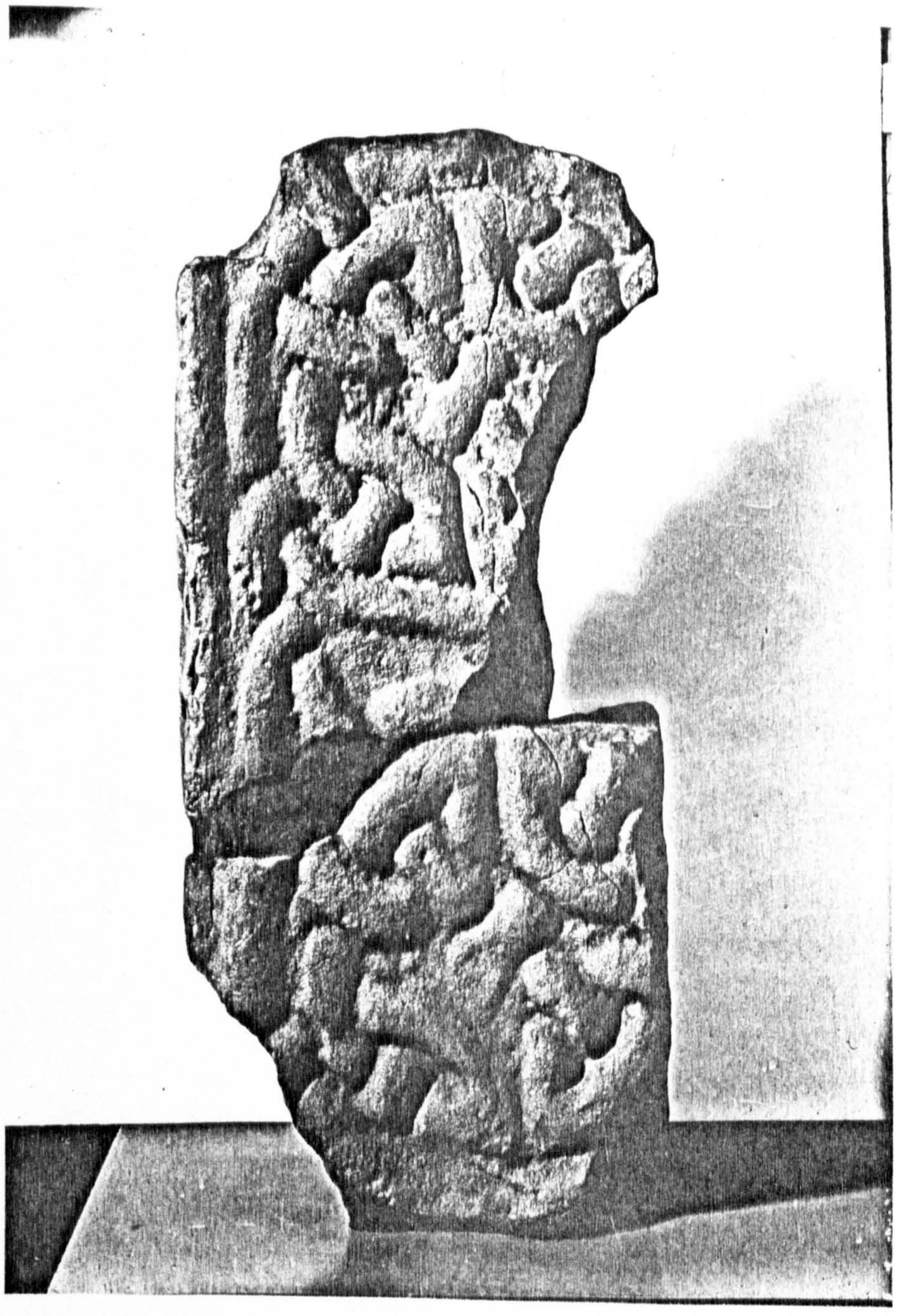


Figure III.24

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire V (RCAHMS/SDD G1701-32)

Figure III.25

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire VI (RCAHMS RX/2184)

Figure III.26

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire VII (RCAHMS RX/2185)

Figure III.27

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire VIII FRONT (RCAHMS/Ewart and Lewis 1984)

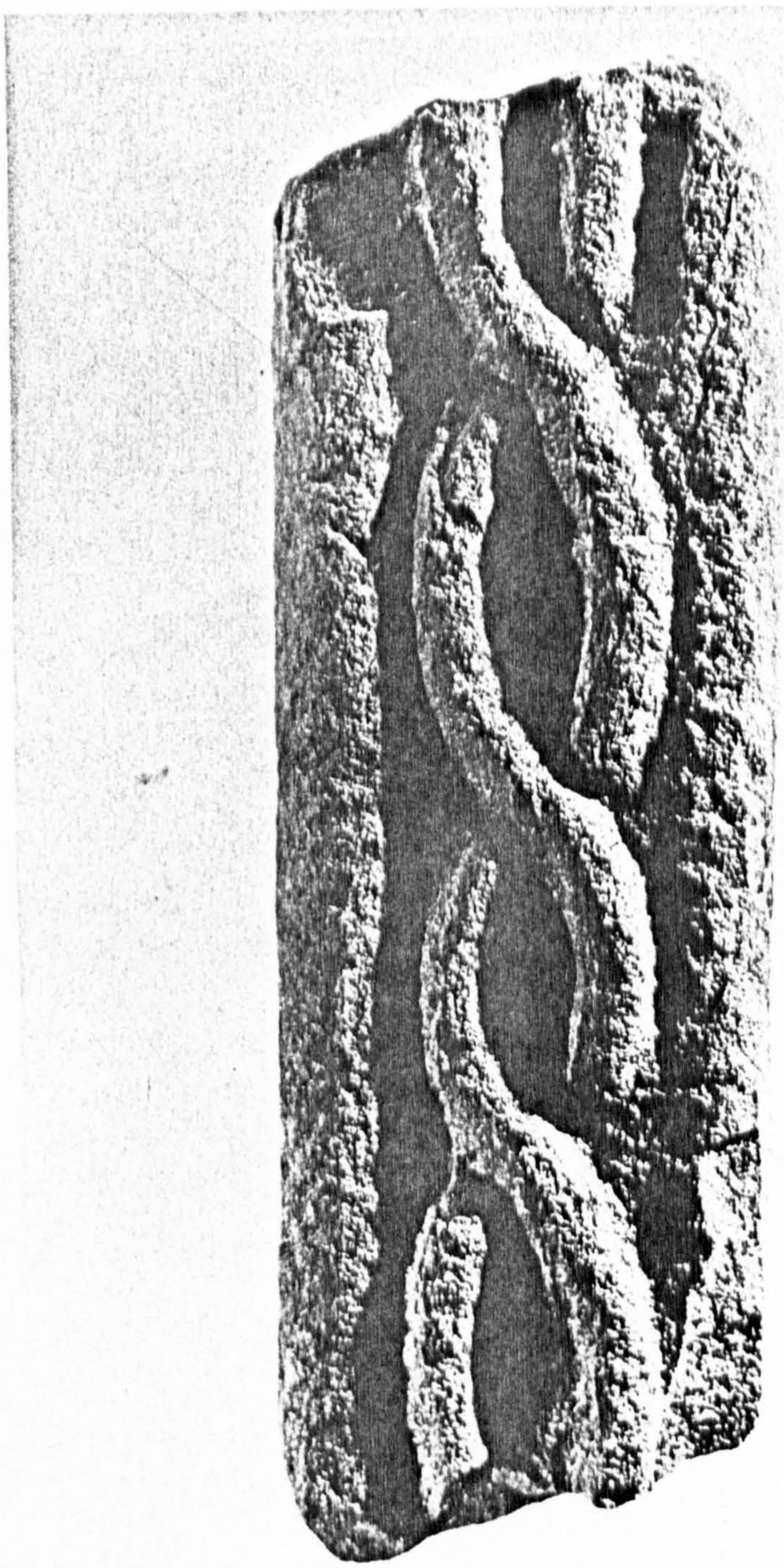


Figure III.27

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire VIII LEFT SIDE (RCAHMS/Ewart and Lewis 1984)

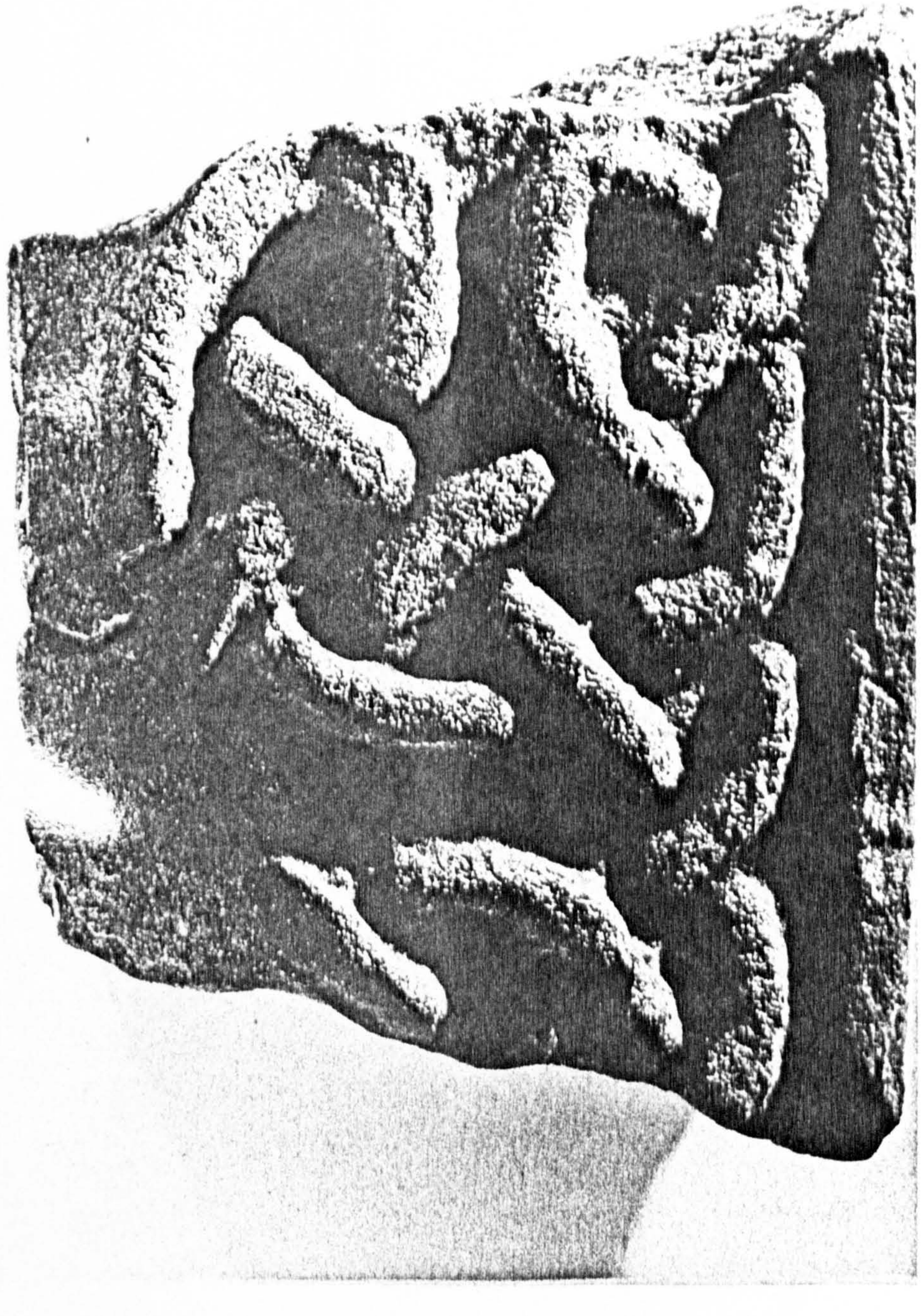


Figure III.27

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire VIII BACK (RCAHMS/Ewart and Lewis 1984)

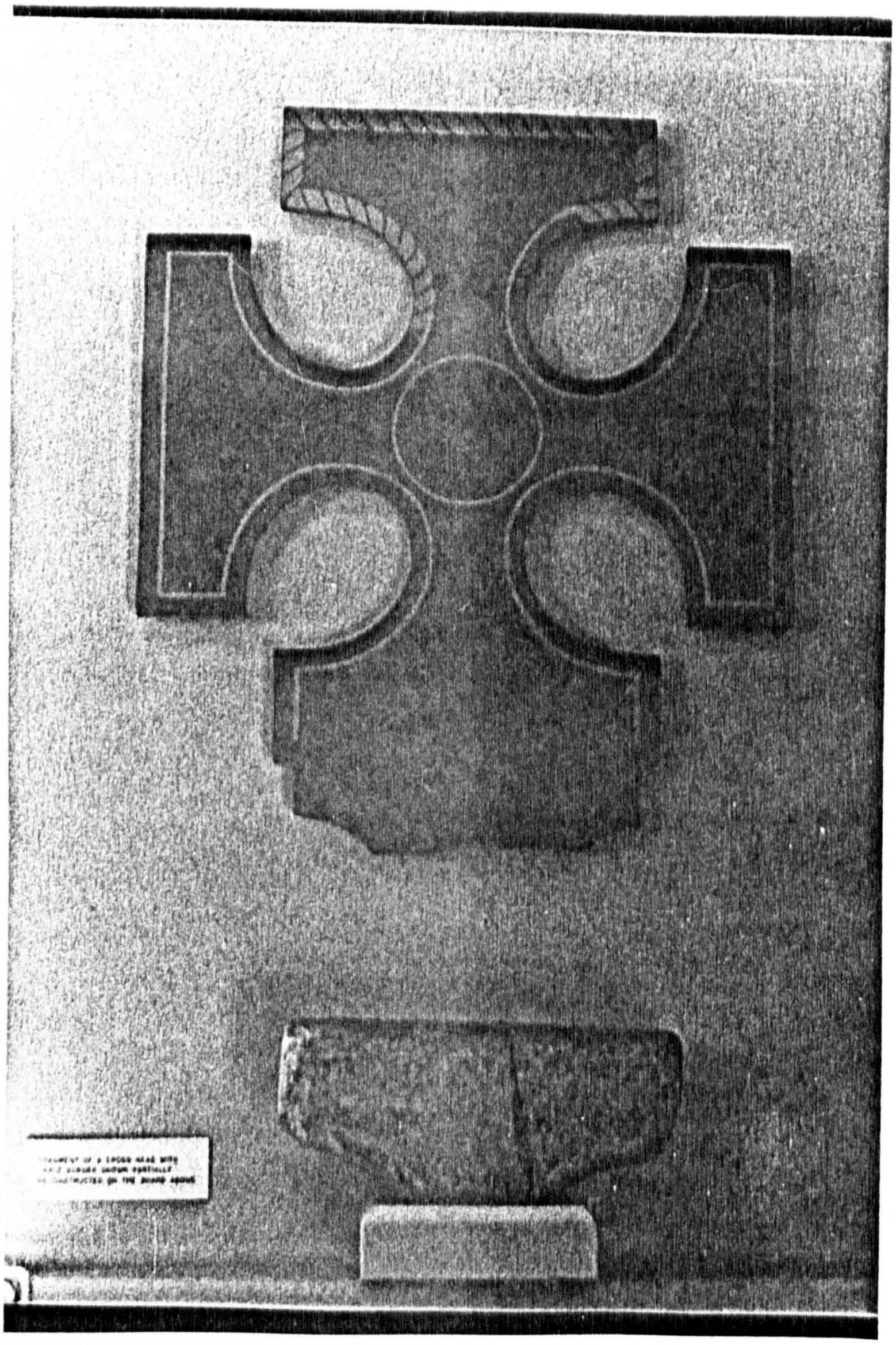


Figure III.28

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire IX (A-Kelly 1984)

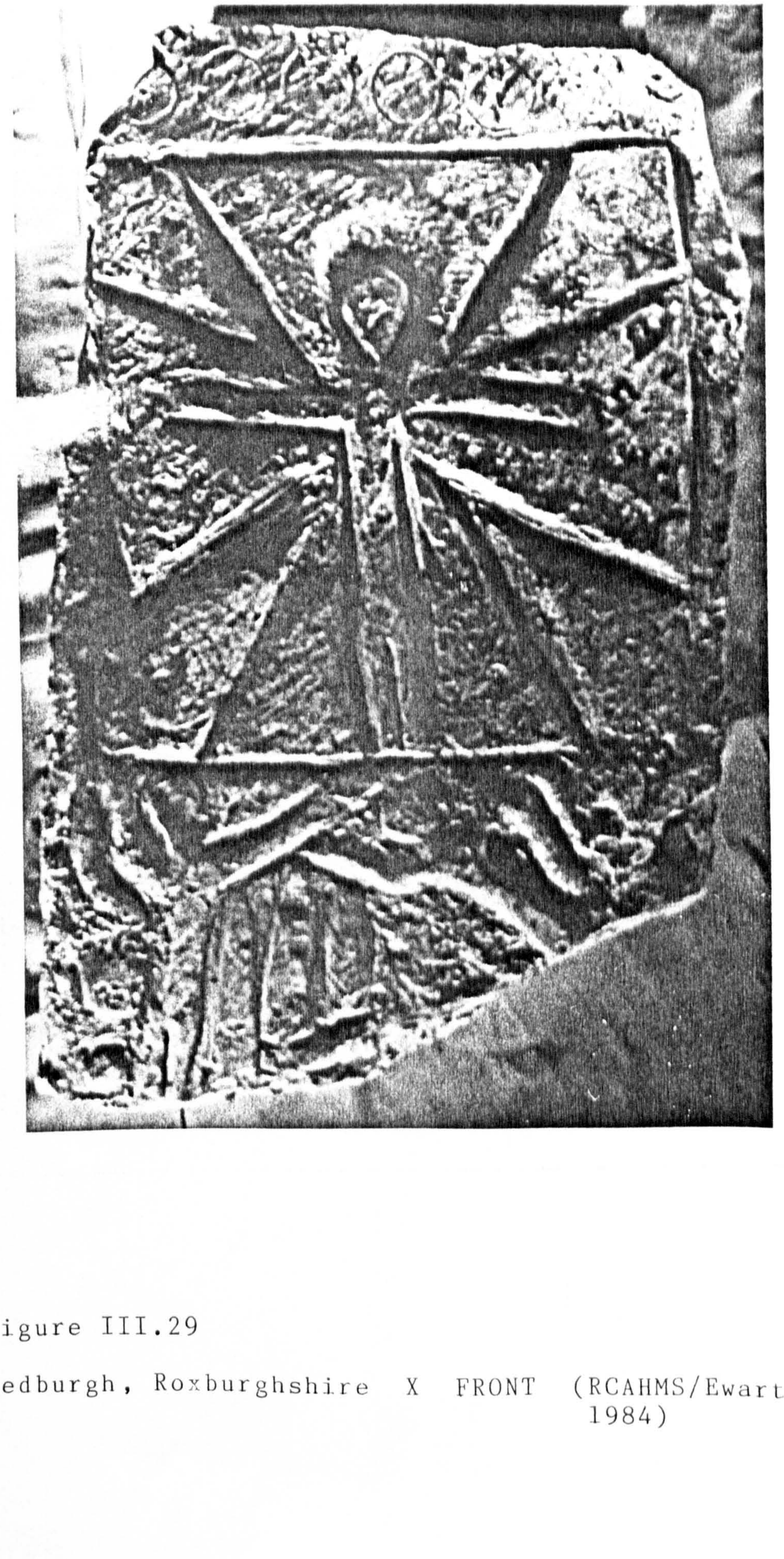


Figure III.29

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire X FRONT (RCAHMS/Ewart and Lewis 1984)

Figure III.29

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire X RIGHT SIDE (RCAHMS/Ewart and Lewis 1984)

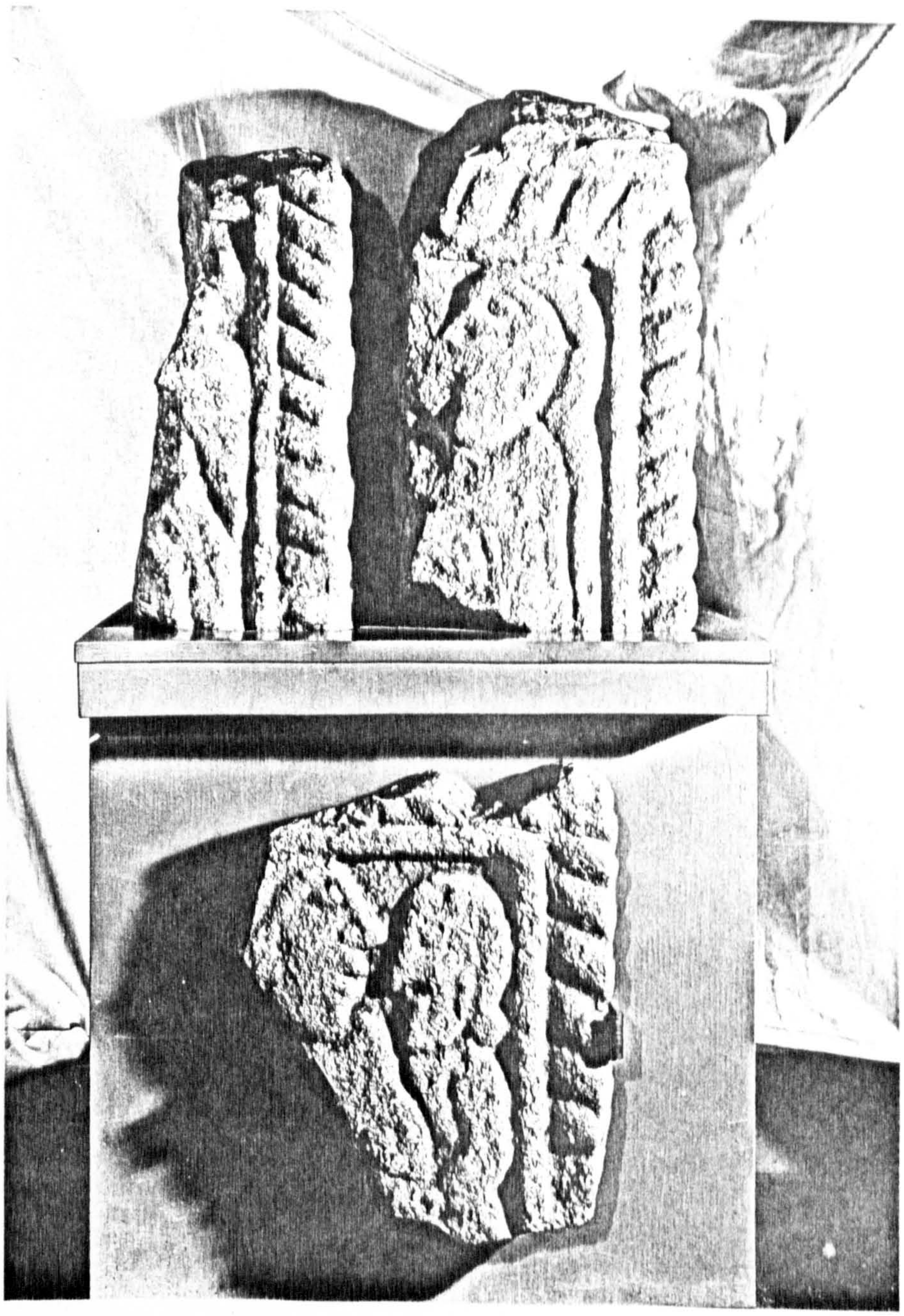


Figure III.30

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire XI (RCAHMS/SDD G1701-34)

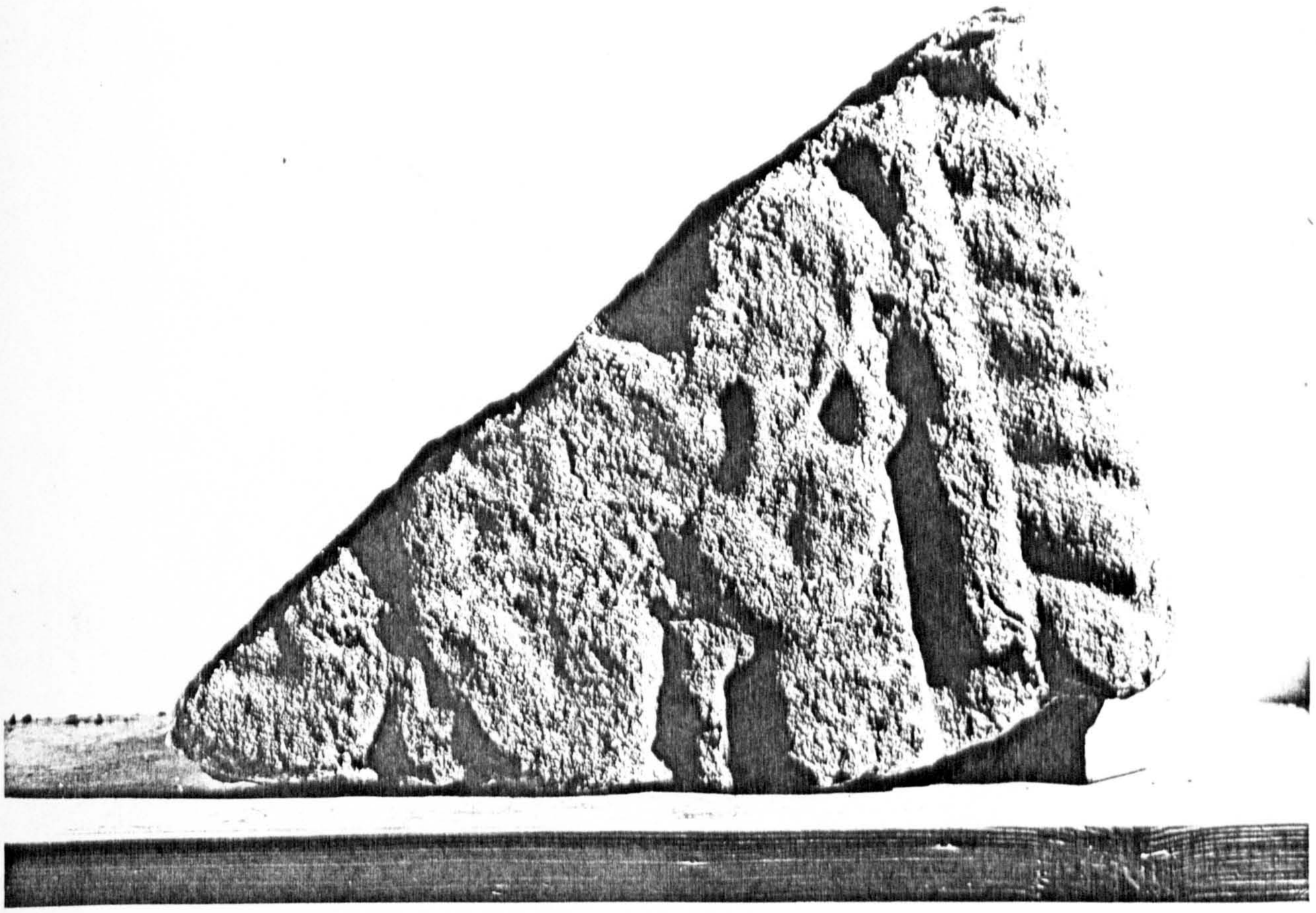


Figure III.30

Jedburgh, Roxburghshire XI (RCAHMS/SDD G1701-24)

Figure III.31

Aberlady, East Lothian FRONT (NMAS 1B 298 (2))

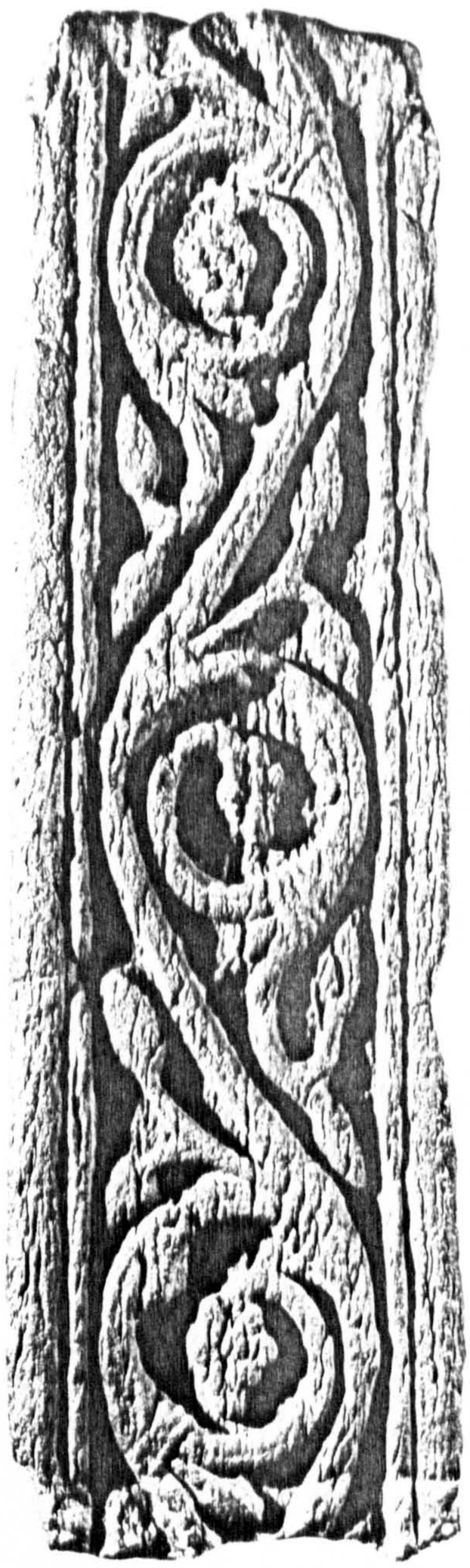


Figure III.31

Aberlady, East Lothian LEFT SIDE (NMAS 1B 298 (1))

Figure III.31

Aberlady, East Lothian BACK (NMAS)

Figure III.32

Morham, East Lothian FRONT (NMAS L 1928 6 (4))

Figure III.32

Morham, East Lothian LEFT SIDE (NMAS L 1928 6 (2))

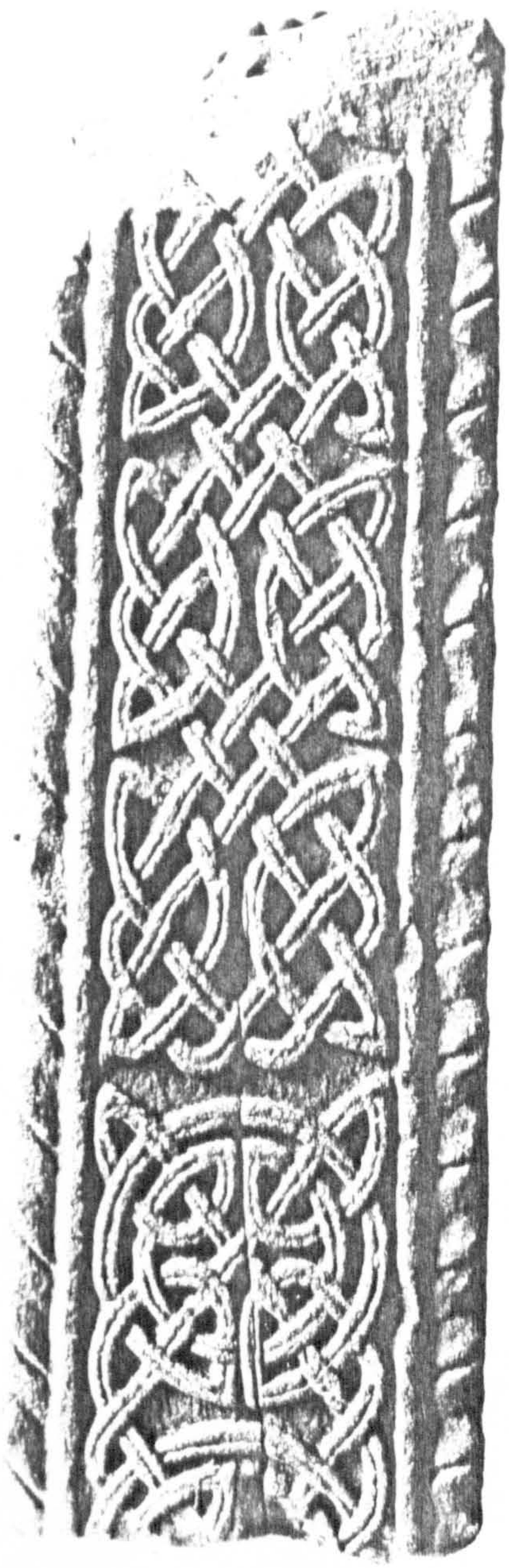


Figure III.32

Morham, East Lothian BACK (NMAS L 1928 6 (3))

Figure III.33

Lasswade, Midlothian (NMAS 1B 21 (1))

Figure III.33

Lasswade, Midlothian (A-Kelly 1984)

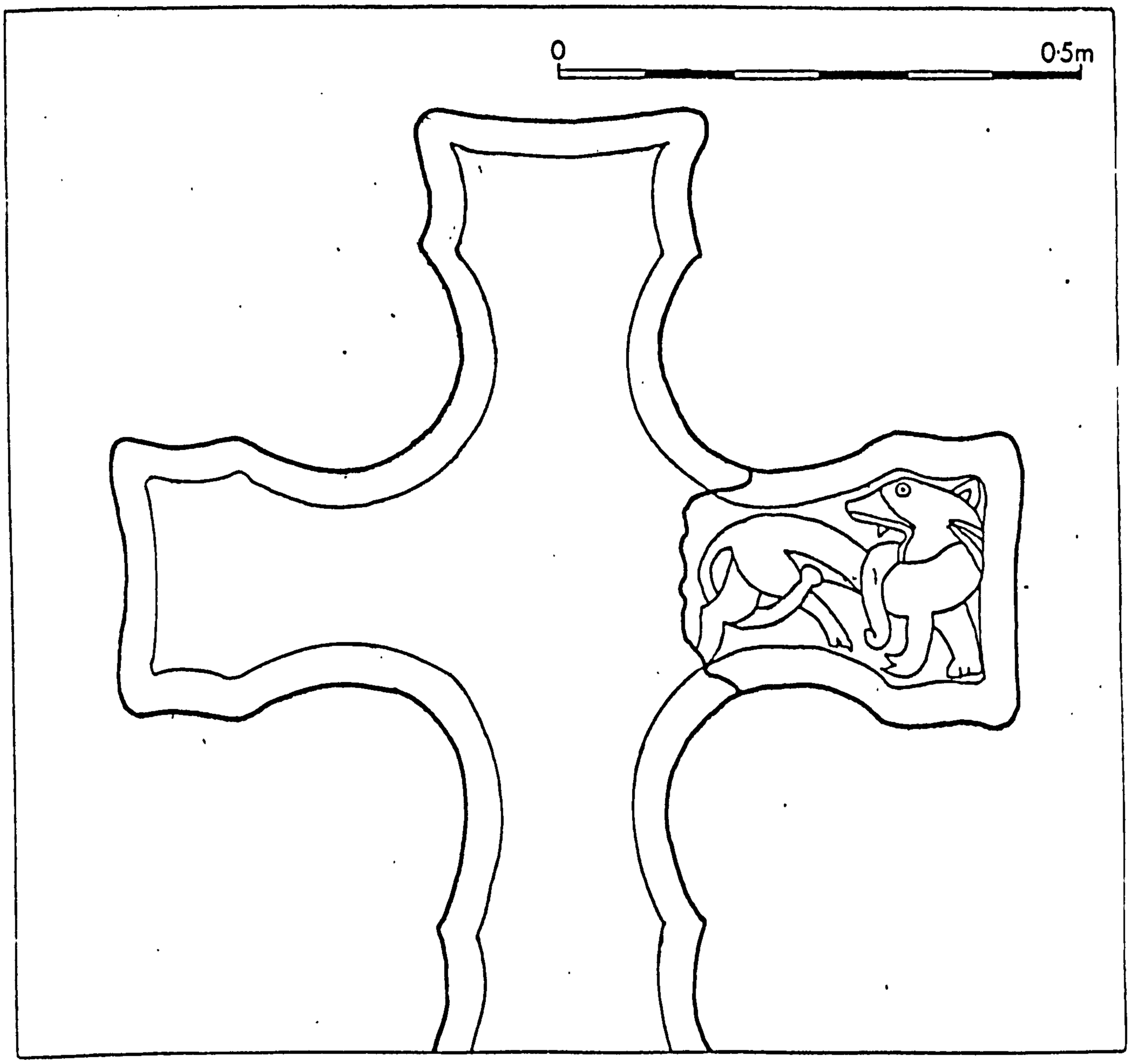


Figure III.34

Sprouston, Roxburghshire (A-Kelly 1984)

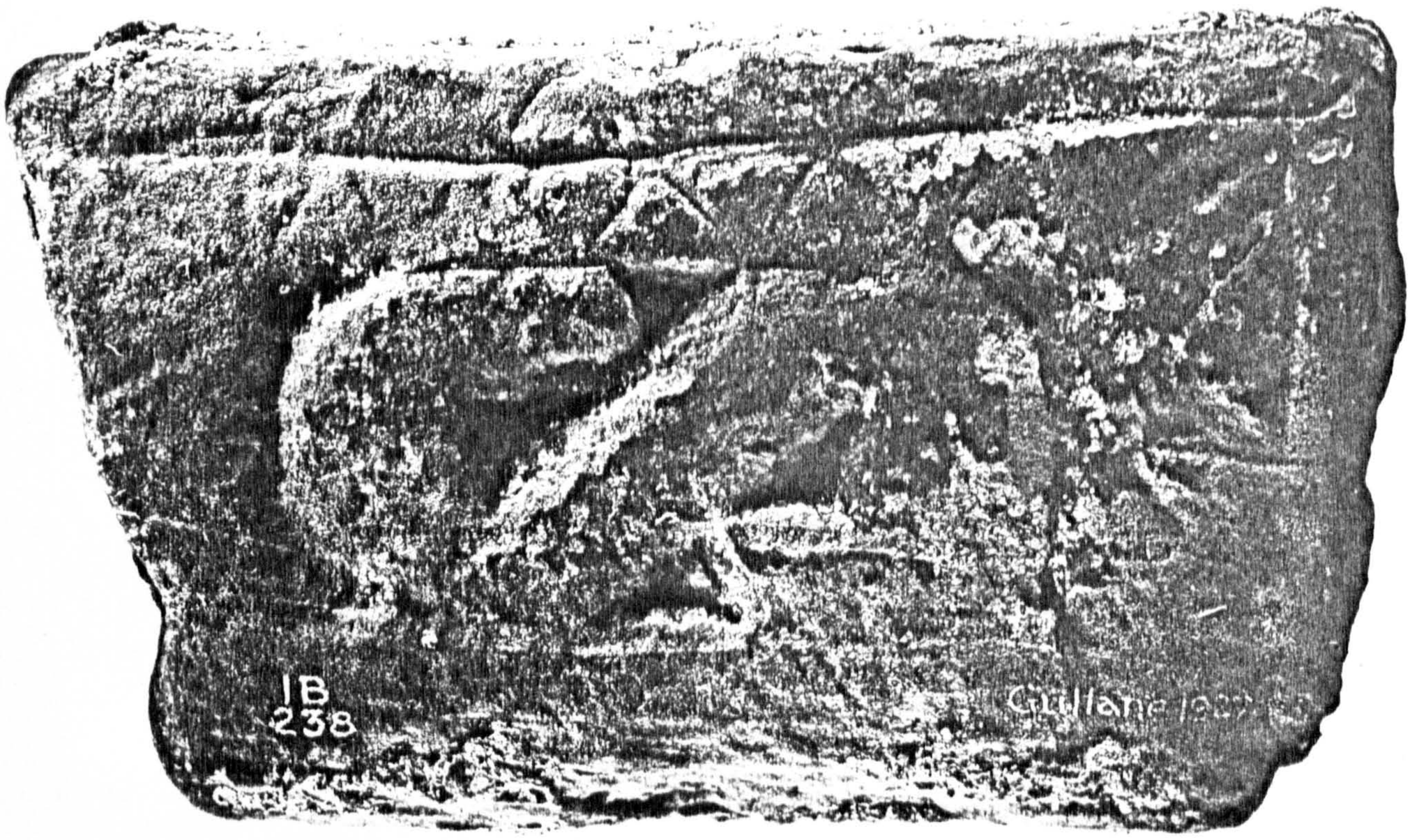


Figure III.35

Gullane, East Lothian (NMAS)

Figure III.36

Kinneil, West Lothian (RCAHMS WL/1938/8)

Figure III.37

Liberton, Midlothian I (NMAS IB 254)

Figure III.38

Liberton, Midlothian II (NMAS IB 29)

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